

METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, L.H.D., Editor.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

NOVEMBER, 1901.

ART. I.—CREATION OR DEVELOPMENT.*

UNLESS we are mistaken in our interpretation of the signs of the times, the twentieth century, upon which we have just entered, is to witness a gigantic conflict of spirits. Faith and unbelief, says Goethe, is the deepest theme of the history of the world. This it has been in the centuries that lie behind us. This it was in that one which we have just closed and abandoned to the past. And this it will be above all things else and in an entirely special sense in the twentieth century, which has just disclosed itself to us. For the conflict of convictions and intentions has spread itself across an ever-widening domain, and has assumed an even more radical character. It is well known that at present this conflict is no longer confined to one or another article of our Christian confession, to the authority of Scripture or tradition, to justification or election; and not even any longer to the Deity of Christ or the personality of the Holy Spirit. But in the spiritual conflict which is now waging in every part of the civilized world, the points at issue more and more are the principles of Christianity itself, and the very fundamentals of all religion and of all morality. This conflict extends the whole length of the line. More serious and fiercer than ever before the conflict is between the old and the new world-view. For man has undertaken the gigantic effort of interpreting the whole world, and all things that are therein, in their origin, essence, and end, what is called purely and strictly scientifically, that is, without God, without any invisible, supernatural, spiritual element, and simply and alone from the pure data of matter and force.

* Translated from the Dutch by the Rev. J. Hendrik de Vries, M.A., Pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church, Princeton, N. J., and translator of Dr. Kuypers' *Encyclopedia of Sacred Theology*, and several other writings.

Such effort, indeed, has been tried before. But then the men who undertook to do it stood isolated, and wielded only a limited influence in their own circles. Ordinarily also they succeeded no further than a few crude outlines of world-interpretation, but failed of furnishing the data from which to work them out and to apply them to the divisions and subdivisions of what exists. The systems which they offered did not agree; lame parts were soon discovered in them; they allowed too much room for accident. Even such a thinker as Spinoza was not able to establish other than a mathematical relation between the substance and its attributes and modes, and left the origin of the world altogether unexplained. But, it is said, all this is now entirely changed. Hegel's pantheism has furnished the idea of the absolute, eternal process of becoming. The materialism of Feuerbach has applied this idea to the world of matter and force as the only existing one. And in the struggle for existence, in the natural and sexual choice of propagation, in the inheritance of the acquired properties, and in the accommodation to surroundings, Darwin's theory of development has provided the necessary means to make this process of the eternal becoming intelligible in the material world. Thus with the change of the century there has gradually a new world-view arisen which undertakes to interpret not merely the inanimate but also the animate creations, not merely the unconscious but also the conscious, and all this without exception independently of God, and only and alone from an immanent self-development.

As a matter of course the followers of this doctrine of development do not all go equally far in the application. There are many who shrink from the inferences, who halt at a given point, and who in imitation of Kant abandon a lesser or greater domain to mystery. These are the agnostics, the dualists, who say, "We do not know," and also "We shall never know," and who take it for granted that the realm which is accessible to science is surrounded by an unknown land of the impenetrable mystery of the unknowable. While they limit the real, the strictly scientific knowing to the world of the sensually observable, and of the measurable and ponderable things, they seek to maintain round about this world an

inaccessible domain which can be peopled by each individual with the representations of his faith or the creations of his imagination. Despairing of an all-embracing and all-inclusive world-view they leave faith and knowledge divided and irreconciled, and they keep two sets of books of truths.

But it is readily perceived that this standpoint is untenable. All conservatism stands weak over against radicalism, with which it agrees in principle. He who fully accepts the theory of development in the sensual, observable world cannot dismiss it at once and without explanation when spiritual phenomena appear. Even though provisionally a small domain is then set aside for faith, this domain is bound to become ever smaller; even as it was with the domain of the redskins in America, as they were forced to recede from before the invading whites. One fortification after another must then be sacrificed, one line of defense after another be abandoned, and one concession after another be granted. There is no immovable conviction in these conservative dualists, no strength of faith, no enthusiastic courage. And hence they are ever bound to lower the flag before the radicals, who have the courage of their convictions, who shrink from no inferences, and who, beginning and continuing without God, are determined also to end without God. Hence these are the men of the future. Conservatives and liberals die out, but the radicals and socialists are to be the leaders in the twentieth century. They have agreed to hold a total and final clearing out of whatever of the old Christian world-view consciously or unconsciously still remains in our laws and morals, in our education and civilization. For they realize that in the long run man, who thirsts after unity, cannot live by the duality and amphibiousness of believing and knowing. They feel the urgency of the need of harmony between all our convictions, tendencies, and deeds. And therefore they exert themselves all the more strenuously by philosophic thought to erect upon the foundation of the materialistic natural science a well-finished and harmonious world-view which will put an end to the imperfect knowledge as well as to the foolish faith of former days and cause all things to appear before the soul's eye in the magical light of a world-embracing system.

Thus presently over against the old world-view there will be placed the new world-view thought out to its latest instance and consequently applied to every department of life, namely, the irreligious over against the Christian, the atheistic over against the theistic, the mechanical over against the organic, or as it has been named, the world-view of development over against that of creation. It is our purpose to compare these two world-views at three points, as the questions are put after the *origin*, *essence*, and *end* of all things, in order that the comparison may establish us the more firmly in the Christian faith and may gird us with strength for the conflict which, in lesser or greater measures of fierceness, awaits us all.

I.

There are many, many things whose knowledge is of little consequence to man. No slightest value attaches to the knowledge of how many drops of water there are in the ocean, how many grains of sand lie on the shore of the sea, how many leaves there are on every tree, or how many hairs there are on our heads. There are those who busy themselves with these things and seek pleasure in curiosities. Even science is sometimes in danger in our times of losing itself in all sorts of detail-investigation, and by reason of the numerous trees to lose sight of the forest. Literature, for instance, is often bent upon tracing out the smallest particulars from the lives of the poets and especially to exhibit their *chronique scandaleuse* in broadest folds, without adding thereby the least help to a better knowledge and a broader appreciation of their art products. But science is not aided by all this. For science is no knowledge of all sorts of insignificant minutiae, but an insight into the essence of things, and an understanding of the idea, the logic, and the universal which is to be observed in things.

But even then, on scientific ground there is a great difference in the value of knowledge. There is knowledge which is of highest importance to the school which tends to the development of the head, but which is altogether apart from the interests of the heart, and has therefore no significance for life. The saying of Schopenhauer contains a

great truth; namely, You do not cease from praising the reliability and accuracy of mathematics; but what does it avail me to know with utmost certainty the thing which does not concern me? Thomas Aquino has truly said that the least that can be known of highest interests is more desirable and of greater value than the completest and most accurate knowledge of futile and indifferent things.

There is a knowledge which is of highest interest and urgent necessity to every man, without distinction. These are questions of life, whose answer each man requires because it stands in closest connection with the temporal and eternal well-being. Whatever is said, all people are conscious of it in turn that the life of a man is no play, but an awful reality, whose seriousness creates concern, since nothing less than an eternity hangs on it. Each man is convinced of this in the deepest parts of his soul, and shows it by seeking, even though in wrong ways, after a highest, enduring, and eternal good. Our heart is created for God, and it does not rest until it finds this at his Father heart. Hence we should know whence we come, what the source and origin of all things is, whether the last ground of all existing things is matter or spirit, force or person, unconscious impulse, or the almighty will of God, the Creator of heaven and earth.

The development theory of our times meets this question with the answer that in reality there is no origin and no beginning of things. All what is always was, though it be in other forms, and always shall be. The law of substance, that is, the theory the ever equal quantity, of the indestructibility of matter and force, especially since the famous treatise by Helmholtz on *Die Erhaltung der Kraft*, published in 1847, is according to naturalists irrefutably demonstrated and established beyond all doubt. This is the great discovery of the nineteenth century. Said Professor Haga at Groningen last year, in his rectoral oration on the development of natural science, "A particle of water can be traced from the moment it falls on the tops of the mountains as a snowflake, and as glacier-ice requires years to be pushed ahead, until it melts and in the brook is carried along to river and sea, where once more it evaporates and becomes fluid in the atmosphere as part of a cloud."

This is taught of matter. But this same law is valid with reference to the power which can be moved and changed but never reduced or increased in quantity. The railway train, said the same professor, which has suddenly the brakes put on loses its capacity of motion, but the heat developed in the skid, wheels, and rails represents an equally great quantity of capacity of work.

From this important law many present-day naturalists infer that substance is eternal. There is no origination and no passing away in any actual sense, no being born and no dying. What is was from all eternity and shall be to all eternity. There is change of form, of appearance, and endless transformation; there is an eternal process, an unbegun and a never-ending circular movement of matter and of force. But the substance is indestructible; it is the only, absolute, eternal being, which penetrates and fills eternal time and infinite space. It is, if you please, the Deity of the newer world-view. There is no other god. It has no other properties, no higher virtues and perfections, no more exalted names than matter and force. And it is no blessed, glorious, and all-sufficient *being*, but a restless *becoming*, an eternal urgency subject to an ever-continuing process of motion.

From this motion, which is taken as eternally belonging to matter and force, the origin of all things is to be interpreted. Development, evolution is the eternal law, which governs and directs everything that exists; with its blind fate and incalculable accident it displaces Divine Providence. The origin of our planetary system is explained according to this law. Our world in its present form was preceded by thousand others, which in turn came into being after this same law and have passed away. When the last preceding one had dissolved itself into a gaseous mass of mists, from which, according to a probable esteemed hypothesis of Kant and Laplace, the present world has appeared with its sun, moon, and stars, and also our earth, gradually by consolidation, rotation, and forming of the globe. But as everywhere else, upon this earth also development continues itself by the ceaseless motion of matter and force. Along long, immeasurably long lines of regularity the higher develops itself from the lower. By all

sorts of evolutions the earth forms itself into a fit dwelling place for living beings. First there is the inanimate, the formation of seas and lands, of mountains and streams, of minerals and layers of earth. Then matter organizes itself ever along finer lines and the operations of force become ever more intricate, until at length under favorable circumstances from inorganic matter the cell originates, which is the bearer of life. And when it is once come, then in the course of centuries there develop themselves the kingdoms of plants and animals, in ever higher formation, richer variety, and greater numbers. There is no deep, broad chasm between the animate and the inanimate, but a gradual transition. There is only a more intricate construction, finer organization, a higher development. Along the same way at length man arrives upon the scene. He also is not brought forth by the hand of the Creator, bearing his image; but he is the higher development of that species of animals, whose next of kin still continue to live on in the orang-outang, gorilla, and chimpanzee. In the fierce struggle for existence some animals, by acquiring and inheriting ever more excellent properties, have gradually developed themselves in one or other part of the earth into men. There has not been a first man. No one is able to indicate where the animal ceases and man begins. There is a slow, gradual development spreading itself across many centuries; by the smallest possible changes in the largest possible spaces of time from the lower all the higher has come forth; and man himself is the result of a process covering many millions of years.

This is the new and newest interpretation of the origin of things. There is something imposing, something which takes hold of one mightily in this view. There is contained in it unity of thought, boldness of conception, and sequence of principle. It is readily understood that it charms many. Yes, when one does not believe in revelation which furnishes another interpretation of all creatures, one is bound in a similar way to render the origin of things in some measure intelligible to himself. They must have come from somewhere and have originated in some way. The theory may still be incomplete and leave many phenomena in the physical and psychical world

unexplained, nevertheless, according to Straus, Darwin is hailed as the greatest benefactor of the human race, because he has opened the door through which a more fortunate posterity will be able to cast out the miracle for good. An age which denies the supernatural and even shakes off all religion, cannot do other, all opposition notwithstanding, than expect all salvation from the reason, its own thinking, and to see the solution of all the riddles of the world in development.

But however much this system may seem to be inwardly united and however readily we may account for its influence and popularity, it is not a product of science, but of the imagination; it is a play of conceptions on the part of the understanding which thirsts after unity. It is said to be built upon the foundation of empirical physics, aided by logical thinking; but it is a castle in the air, without any solid foundation, and without any severity of style, an air castle in the true sense of the word. With the laying of the very first stone it abandons empirics, the reliable results of physics. It is no science in any serious sense, no *science exacte*, as it is claimed to be, but a world-view with which the subject plays his parts, a philosophy as uncertain as any system of the philosophers, an individual opinion of as much significance as that of every other man.

That this assertion is correct is shown by the fact that though this system has been more broadly worked out in this century just closed and furnished with data from physics, in principle it has been thought out and recommended by philosophers long ago. Neither in former centuries nor in this has materialism been the result of severe scientific investigation, but the fruit of philosophic thought. Indeed, from the nature of the case physics can never go back of nature. It stands on the ground of nature, assumes its existence, and hence cannot answer the question after its origin. As soon as it undertakes to do this it leaves its lines, ceases to be physics and becomes philosophy, on an equal standing with the other philosophical systems which as grass and the flower of the field may bloom to-day but wither to-morrow. Physics may have discovered in this century the law of the conservation of work-capacity, but with no logical possibility can the inference be drawn from this that matter and force are eternal. What exists now has for this

reason not existed always. And what human power is not able to destroy is therefore not indestructible. The word "eternal" has no place in the vocabulary of physics, for it has only to do with the finite and the seen things and is limited to the relative. It steps across its own boundaries when it speaks of eternal matter, eternal force, infinite space, and time without end. Whenever it does this it plays with words whose meaning it does not understand and whose copulation is as contradictory as that of a wooden iron and a square circle.

It is more foolish still when it speaks of eternal motion. An eternal motion would also have been run down eternally and this be a standstill. For what falls in time is transitory, and what is eternal does not fall in time. Motion assumes a moving force, which gives the impetus, which produces and maintains it. Greek philosophers were so convinced of this, that from the motion of the world they concluded to a first mover. It may, indeed, be said that the universe moves itself, that it is a *perpetuum mobile*; but aside from this being a miracle equally great as the creation, it is as little possible to think this of the world as a whole as of one of its parts. For it is always the same substance, the same matter and force which dwells in the whole universe and in each of its parts. And motion is not everything. There is no motion without direction. What is the force, which not only moves but also leads the motion in a given direction? What is it owing to that motion takes such a direction, that it results in the formation of sun and planets, of heaven and earth, of minerals and plants, of animals and man in an ascending series? An appeal to the blind force of substance by way of explanation is equally absurd, as when, after the example of Cicero, one accounts for a book such as the Iliad from an accidental cast of thousands of letters.

But, apart from all this, what does physics know of the substance of things? Because it moves continually in the world of things that are seen it asserts that there is nothing else than matter and force contained therein. Always dealing with matter it disregards and denies spirit. Theology is accused, and justly so, of having usurped, in early times, all the

sciences. But no science has ever done this more entirely than physical science of the present day. It claims to be the only science and even outstrips English and Russian imperialism in its ambition for annexation. It declares consecutively biology and psychology, theology and philosophy as incorporated with itself, it forces its method upon all the sciences, and considers the mechanical interpretation the only one that is warranted to the claim of being scientific.

And, after all, it does not know what to do with all the phenomena which constitute the object of these several sciences. She does not know what substance is, and when she claims that it is nothing but matter and force, she cannot tell what each of these is, nor how they are related. Such a man as Haeckel, who shrinks from no riddle, was bound to confess that the inner essence of things is unknown. And little as she is able to penetrate the essence of matter and force, she is still less able to analyze the innermost being of life. Life, all life, is a secret which is to be revered but not explained. He who analyzes it kills it. All tracings and investigations have not lifted a corner of the veil which hangs across this mystery of creation. By the studies, especially by those of Pasteur at Paris, it has been shown that even with the lowest organic beings, namely, the *infusorien*, life does not originate of itself by mechanical changes of matter; there is no *generatio equivoca*. Despairing of a mechanical interpretation, others, such as the English naturalist Thomson (Lord Kelvin), sought refuge in the supposition that life-germs had fallen in meteor stones from other planets upon this earth and thus had imparted existence to organic creatures; and this, as is seen at once, merely puts the problem off, while, moreover, it ascribes the origin of living creatures in the earth to a pure accident. With Haeckel it was held that life needs no interpretation, since it is equally eternal as matter and force and motion—which is no better than a mere play of words and is equivalent to a confession of weakness. With younger investigators, such as Bunge, Rindfleisch, Driesch, Ostwald, Reinke, Pictet, etc., returns were made to the at first disdainfully rejected life-power and alongside of a mechanical, an organic, energetical principle was also adopted in the world-view. *Omne vivum ex vivo*, all

the living comes forth from the living, is still the latest word of science.

This new world-view involves itself still more in a net of contradictions when it handles the question of the origin of man. It is indeed stated, as the consistency of the starting point claims, that man descended from the animal. But it has not been demonstrated by a single phenomena. It was known in earlier times that all sorts of relationships exist between animal and man, it is taught in the Scriptures, and at most has been indicated in our age in several particulars. With the animals man was created on the sixth day. His body also was formed from the dust; of the earth he is earthy. But all the features of relationship give no right to the conclusion that man and animal belong to one family and that they are blood relations. For greater far than the undeniable points of similarity is the far-reaching difference between man and animal indicated by the vertical position, formation of hand, skull, and brains, and still more by the reason and self-consciousness, by thought and language, by religion and morality, by science and art. Moreover, no single sample has been produced of the transition forms which with a common descent must have existed in great numbers. Some finds of human bones and skulls have been hailed enthusiastically as remnants of the so ardently longed-for transition forms. But a more accurate investigation brought ever again the fact to light that all these remnants were original with common people, men of like movements with ourselves. In spite of all diligent and zealous investigations there is nothing in advance this day of the word of Rudolf Virchow, that every fossil type of a lower human development is wanting. No one has thus far demonstrated where and when and how the animals have developed themselves into men. As far as we can go back into the past, animals have been animals and men men. The descendance theory of Darwin may be an indispensable link in the doctrine of development; it finds no support in facts. Man always has and still does form a distinct species in the world of creatures.

For this reason there is still room in science for the wondrously beautiful narrative which the opening chapters of the

Bible contain concerning the origin of things. We, too, acknowledge a unity which holds and binds together all created things. But we do not take this unity to lie in a cold, dead substance, but in the living God, the Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth. It lies in his consciousness, in his will, in his counsel. In the beginning it was not chaotic matter, the unconscious force, the impulse devoid of reason, but the conscious, spoken and at the same time speaking Word, which called all things into being. The creatures do not owe their origin to an emanation from, or to an evolution of the Absolute, that is, God. For both are contradictory to the conception of the Absolute, which is in itself unchangeable, eternal, and perfect being, and admits of no emanation or development. Creation alone, which harmonizes with the being of God as well as with that of the creatures, interprets the origin of things. And thus the Scripture states it. In an ascending series, covering a period of six days, by the word of his power the Almighty brings all things to appear from the unseen world of thought. He spake, and it was done; he commanded, and it stood fast. He calleth those things which be not as though they were. Heaven and earth, firmament and clouds, mountains and streams, sun, moon, and stars, grass and herbs, creeping and fourfooted animals. He forms them all by the breath of his Spirit from the chaos of being. And he crowns his work with the creation of man after his image and likeness. Hence everything is of divine descent, allied to the Son, animated by the breath of the Spirit; everything is resting upon thought and will, upon understanding and counsel; and therefore everything mutually allied is one world, one cosmos, which receives its crown and glory, its lord and master, in Man of God's own family.

What an insight into the origin of things! What an exalted simplicity! Here is poetry and truth and religion all in one. This is both natural science and philosophy. Experience and thought, head and heart are here reconciled. Here is a view of the world which satisfies both consciousness and conscience and responds to all the aspirations of man. From the other side, it may be said, better be an ennobled ape than a degenerate Adam, or, better be the highest of animals than the

lowest of gods; but these very sayings betray the pride of man, who will be his own creator and in science also fails in the temptation of equality with God. They not only reject the Word of God, and are therefore devoid of wisdom, but they also extinguish the light of reason, saying in their heart, "There is no God," and are darkened in their understanding and vain in the thoughts of their heart.

II.

Equally important as the first inquiry into the origin is the second, which investigates the essence of things. What is the world? What is humanity and the individual? What am I? An answer to these questions is also indispensable to the unity of our thought and the peace of our heart.

The newer world-view is at once ready with its answer. It asserts, of course, that in reality all creatures are one and the same. There is nothing but matter and force, which constitute the substance of all things and only changes in endless series of forms. There is no God, there are no spirits, there is no heaven, there is no world of invisible things, no kingdom of eternal goods, no moral world-order. Nothing exists save this visible world of measurable and ponderable things, which is moved by purely mechanical and chemical forces. In a word, the world is a machine, and, as a clock, runs down. It is distinguished, however, from a machine made by man, in that the latter has been put together by a reasonable will and is still governed by it. But the world—wonderful saying—is a machine which has construed itself, which continuously holds itself in motion, and which, completely blind, without reason and purpose, eternally runs on and never down. Hence the world is no living, animated organic unity, but an eternal existence of one and the same sort, a circular motion devoid of purpose, an endless, useless round upon round, monotonous and wearisome as the wave-beat of the ocean and the flying wheels of a factory.

The organism, the living being, and man also have their place in this mechanism. For there are no creatures who differ from each other in being; there are no species which, though allied, are separated from each other in

origin. All living beings are automatons, machines, even as inorganic creatures, only more finely construed and more artistically constructed. Man also forms no exception. He has neither a soul nor liberty, neither responsibility, independence, nor personality. In fact, he does not live, he is being lived. There are phenomena peculiar to him which we call psychical. But this gives us no warrant to conclude that these are altogether his own. For practical reasons they are only provisionally distinguished from physical, sensually observable phenomena. For in kind and nature they are really the same. They are but the finest products of the richest developed change of matter.

Simply because man is more finely construed than animals, and again because his highest and noblest construction is the brain, he produces finer and nobler products than other creatures. Hence all the psychical phenomena which we find with man find their preparation and analogy with plants and animals. Understanding, reason, consciousness, will, feeling, passions, tendencies, all occur in an undeveloped form with the lower organisms. The difference is in degree, not in kind. With man all these phenomena are produced in the same mechanical, chemical way. What a man thinks and wills and does, he must think, will, and do. Even as bile separates itself from the liver, so thought separates itself from the brain. The better, the finer, the greater the brain, the better, the deeper, the richer the thought. *Ohne Phosphor kein Gedanke* (without phosphorus no thought). In a word, as a man eats, so is he.

This same interpretation is applied to all spiritual and moral goods which are common to man. Language, religion, morality, art, science, law, history, etc., at its latest instance, is all product of change of matter, results of circumstances. If animals, says Darwin, were educated as men, they too would be men. Fate or accident alone, whichever you please to call it, has determined it otherwise. First living as beasts, climbing the branches of trees, in communion with women, without any sense of right or law, of good and evil, compelled by circumstances, in the manner of bees and ants and beetles, they have gradually formed colonies. And

in those colonies, alongside and over against the animal and selfish inclinations which are originally common to man social instincts have slowly developed, which weighed up against the others, and held them in balance, and caused men to live not exclusively for themselves but to some extent for others. Protected and encouraged by society these social instincts have gradually fostered the sense of right and wrong, of good and evil, of true and false, and quickened the need of arts and sciences. Hence there is no moral world-order, no objective right, no unchangeable law of morals, no absolute distinction of good and bad. It is all the product of circumstances. Under other relations the moral law would be entirely different, good would be evil, right wrong, and truth falsehood. Even religion has no objective value. It is born from the conflict of the feeling of self and the feeling of need. Dependent upon and oftentimes helpless over against nature, and bound to maintain himself in a physical or ethical sense, man reaches out after invisible powers which he takes to exist analogous to his own spiritual life, first in and afterward above nature, and by sacrifice and prayer he tries to engage their help in the conflict. But there is no religion in the sense of a service of God, for there is no God. At most, religion has a subjective value. Man alone is the standard of things.

Such is the thought of the newer world-view concerning the essence of material and spiritual phenomena. One might almost ask, How is it possible? And in any case, How can faith in such a view be claimed in the name of science? For it is at once clear that from this view-point there is no difference of good and evil, of right and wrong, of truth and falsehood. Everything is good and beautiful and true in its time and place, according to the individual faith and choice. And yet the adherents of the newer world-view claim to have the truth—the pure, full truth, which chases away the mists, expels error, and opens the state of happiness. They think they have a world without riddle, without mystery, and with unknown boldness they force it upon others. Skeptical according to their principle, they are on the one side hardened dogmatists in practice, and oftentimes worse fanatics than the

adherents of a religious belief. While they do not acknowledge objective truth, they are more certain of the truth of their own teaching than many an orthodox believer. By which single fact they pay homage to the validity and the value of the old world-view at a radical and decisive point. Sin is always doomed in spite of itself to pay homage to virtue, and falsehood in whatever garment it hides itself is compelled to confess respect for the truth which it antagonizes. When in the name of science, that is, in the name of truth, the defenders of the new world-view demand faith in their system, they cannot do otherwise than acknowledge the objective, of human opinion, independent difference of truth and falsehood, and thus also of good and bad, of right and wrong, of the beautiful and the unsightly.

Yea, more, when with the warmth of conviction, with eloquence of speech, and force of argument they seek to make their truth the common good of humanity and thereby contribute to the state of future happiness, which is the realm of the true, good, and beautiful, the "trinity of monism," they mean a world of unseen goods which far excels the world of visible things and rules and dominates it. By their trying to break the compulsion of nature by their serious thinking and strong will they show that they themselves are citizens of a higher, reasonable, and moral world which is exalted far above the mechanical order of nature and differs from it in essence. They themselves do not rest content with the physical necessity, but they honor the independence and the liberty of human personality. They furnish the strongest proof that they are no machines, no animals, but men—men of God's own generation, created after his image.

Indeed, this image never allows itself to be entirely wiped out. It operates also in the most deeply sunken and most widely errant man. It bears an indelible character, and asserts itself even in the unrest and in the accusation of the conscience. Man can adhere to falsehood, but he never does it and never can do it save as he holds it to be truth, and thereby pays homage to the truth. He can be the servant of sin, but he never is nor ever can be, except as he reckons evil to be good and so pays his respect to the good. He can kneel down

to an idol, but he never does it and he never can do it except as he thinks that in the idol he sees the only true and living God and confesses awe and fear of the Eternal Being. God leaves himself without witness to no man. In each man's consciousness and conscience, reason and heart there reveals itself a kingdom of eternal and unseen goods, which steps not out of the way of any doubt and shrinks from no bold denial. The materialist may gaze himself blind upon the material world; spiritual, ideal goods are also goods, though they cannot be weighed or measured, or converted into bank notes. Sin, guilt, remorse, repentance, grace, love, comfort, forgiveness, etc., are also phenomena which must be interpreted, as well as the world of ponderable material and mechanical force.

The interpretation which the newer world-view offers of these spiritual and moral phenomena is really not worthy of the name. Confess, can it be called an interpretation when personality is robbed of its liberty; when the objective existence of true and false, of good and evil, of right and wrong is denied; when religion and morality is dissolved in a fancy? We do not dispute the warrant of tracing out as far and deep as possible the unmistakable connection and mutual relation of the spiritual and material phenomena. But as little as he who anatomically and physiologically investigates the brains, interprets the *thought*, or he who anatomically or physiologically investigates the heart, interprets *love*, just so little has he discovered the secret of religion and morality, of art and science, who exposes to the light their connection with the social conditions of any given period of time. Whoever thinks this mocks, indeed, at the needs of the human heart. They do as the unmerciful friends in Jesus's parable: when we ask them for bread they give us a stone; when we ask them for fish they give us a scorpion, as a proof that the mercies of the wicked are still cruel, and he who will feed on this bread of science will, according to Isaiah (xxix, 8), be as a hungry man who dreameth, and, behold, he eateth; but when he awaketh his soul is empty; or as when a thirsty man dreams that he drinks, but when he awakes, behold, he is faint, and his soul hath appetite.

The development theory, therefore, is unable to interpret

the richness and variety of creation. Indeed, the word development is not in place at the view-point of the mechanical world-interpretation. Evolutionists have unlawfully appropriated it and use it as a device to hide their poverty, and as a flag which does not cover their cargo. But development does not stand over against creation, but is only possible upon its foundation and belongs to its confession. Development produces nothing of itself, it is not the mother of being or of life; it is only a form of motion, which can only reveal what lies hidden inwardly in the germ. But the so-called development theory has no knowledge of germs; it knows nothing of disposition or capacity, of fitness and susceptibility. In its system there is no room for anything save atoms and complexes of atoms, which are altogether passive in themselves and are collocated only and alone in a mechanical or chemical manner by circumstances from without. This makes no mention of development in its real sense. No one thinks of development with reference to a machine whose parts are prepared in a factory piece by piece and afterward put together. Development is given an opportunity only when by almighty creation existence is given to beings who by way of organic growth must become what in germ and principle they already are. He who speaks of development refers to thought, plan, law, end; he who names development names God, who laid the "eidos" in the "hyle," the completed organism in the germ, the future in the present, and who in the creation had an eye to all times and opportunities. So little does development stand over against creation that there is scarcely any choice left between creation with the richest development on one side and mechanical combination by the accident of a host of similar atoms on the other. Development stands between origin and end; under God's providence it leads from the first to the last and unfolds all the riches of being and of life to which in creation God gave existence.

When, therefore, in distinction from materialistic one-sidedness we embrace not merely a few but all phenomena in our world-view, how greatly does our outlook upon the universe change and enlarge itself. For then the world is no

monotonous monism, no mechanical process, no irrational machine, but an organic, living whole. It contains not only matter and force, but also spirit and consciousness, reason and will. No merely mechanical and chemical, but also spiritual and moral powers operate therein, and not only are there dominant in it laws for material nature, but also laws for plants and animals, for angels and men, for social and political life, for religion and morality, for science and art, and for all the realms of the true and good and beautiful. The world is a unity, but that unity reveals itself in the richest and most beautiful variety. From the beginning heaven and earth have been distinguished from each other; sun, moon, and stars were given a task of their own; plant and animal and man have each their proper nature. Everything is created by God with a nature of its own and exists and lives after its own law. And although the creatures are thus distinguished, they are not separated from each other. Together they form one whole, one organism, one art product, of which God himself is the artist and the master builder. In him, in his counsel, in his will all created things find their origin and maintain their existence. Everything comes forth from him and in him everything is and moves and has being. He is no *Deus ex machina*, no help in extreme need, whom man invokes as a last resort to assist in his conflict with the mighty forces of nature. But he is the source of all being, the origin of all life and light, and the overflowing fountain of all good, who exhibits his virtues in the world and fills it with his glories.

Again, the newer world-view has no need of God; still less is its need of Christ. It has no knowledge either of sin or of guilt. It needs no Saviour and saves itself. It makes mention of a development and of a civilization which leaves the heart unchanged and at most puts a check for a time upon the "wild animal" in man. But it knows nothing of a regeneration and renewal by the Holy Ghost, or of a faith that justifies the ungodly and that overcomes the world. It is the world-view of the heathen who, knowing God, does not glorify him as God, and gives thanks that the truth of God changes into falsehood, and honors and serves the creature above the Cre-

ator, to whom be glory forever and ever. It disdains the salvation from above and undertakes from the depths to lift up self on high; it will have nothing to do with the incarnation, the becoming of man on the part of God, but replaces it by the reaching forth unto deity on the part of man.

But behold, amid this world of sin and sorrow, of riddles and mysteries, there stands before us on the heights of Golgotha, the cross of Christ. And at that cross God and the world, angels and men, peoples and nations, yea, all creatures take each other by the hand and exchange the token of reconciliation and of peace. In the cross all the riddles of being and of life solve themselves in principle. For thereby has God reconciled himself to the world, and triumphed gloriously over all principalities and powers. All things are of God, they are and remain in God and by God, and from their scattering they shall once return unto God. Is not this world-view more real, more beautiful and richer than that which views the whole universe as an accidental play of lifeless atoms?

III.

The third question about the end and aim of things is no less important than the other two. What is the end of the world? What is the issue of the world's history? Whither am I going?

At this point the insufficiency and unsatisfactory character of the theory of development is especially evident. In a word, it knows nothing of an end; it has no mention of a plan and of any destiny of things; there is no room in its system for any history of the world and of man. It is true that oftentimes life appears more potent than doctrine and practice frequently gains the day over theory. In the writings of evolutionists we meet repeatedly with the mention of a purpose. Haeckel, for instance, declares that "the construction of ear, eye, and hand answers the purpose so wonderfully as to induce us to accept the errant hypothesis of a "creation after a preconceived plan." But the mention of a purpose occurs in these instances either unconsciously or without ground. The system of the development theory offers no room for a plan or a purpose. Nothing is dominant, then, save

the compulsion of fate or the capriciousness of accident. Everything is as it is, without reason and without purpose. The theory of evolution furnishes no answer whatever to the inquiry to what purpose everything serves. On this question it remains silent.

There is no purpose which the individual man serves. He exists, but why and to what end cannot be told. He is, remains here for a time, and departs. Then it is done, *la farce est jouée*, death is the end of a pitiful life. Since there is neither soul nor spirit, immortality is folly and faith in it nothing but egoism, the grave, or better yet, the cremation oven, is man's latest dwelling place.

There is no purpose for humanity. History is no theater of liberty, but is dominated just like the physical world, and with equal necessity, by mechanical forces and laws. The study of history which reckons with the will, with individuals and persons, and deems the course of history dependent upon these is entirely wrong. And homage is due to the method of physics, which views the only and all dominating factor of history in society, in the masses, in economical relations, and in social conditions, and from this interprets men with their thoughts and wishes, their religion and morality, their art and science. Irrational, planless, purposeless humanity goes forward to meet its ruin.

There is no purpose for the earth, the present world as a whole. Science teaches that a certain end awaits the whole planetary system of which the earth forms a part. Even as it once proceeded out of the mass of vapors so it shall once return into the same. There are a few who assert that present conditions will continue eternally. But physics disputes this point and deems it untenable. Endless duration together with an endless progress is inconceivable for the earth as well as for man. An end must come. To reckon with millions of years, in the past or in the present, is child's play and unworthy of mature minds, and is at best of no greater value than the gigantic numbers of Indian mythology. All physicists teach that after some millions of years the earth shall come to an end. However rich in provisions, the earth is not inexhaustible. Coal, wood, peat, minerals, etc., decrease gradually in

quantity as the human race increases and covers the whole earth. For this reason alone the development of humanity cannot be taken as endlessly progressing. To this is added that gradually a violent disturbance must occur in our whole planetary system. The velocity in the earth's revolution is diminished according to computation by at least one second every six hundred thousand years. This may be ever so little; after billions of years it is bound to bring about a change in the relation of day and night which renders life on earth simply impossible. The only point of difference among physicists is, which of the two will last longest, the sun or the earth. If the sun will be first to consume his provision of warmth, the earth is bound to face death by congealing. If the earth will be the first to be exhausted, it will land in the sun, and finds there its ruin. But whether by freezing or by burning, death is the end of the world as well as of the individual man and of the entire human race.

And when in view of this future the defenders of the development theory are asked to what purpose all things here have existed and lived, they have nothing to say and leave us without answer. When once it shall have come thus far, says Von Hellwald, then the eternal rest of death shall dominate over the earth. Robbed of its atmosphere and of its living creatures, in eternal moonlike ruin the earth will revolve about the sun, as before; but the human race, its culture, its struggles and efforts, its creations and ideals shall have been. And with the question "to what purpose" unanswered, he closes his history of culture. This is the eschatology, the doctrine of last things in the dogmatics of the theory of development. It is evident that no one can live by so sad an expectation. The defenders of evolution often say that in science the question is not, What brings comfort? but What is true? And they mock at the first question of the Heidelberger, What is thine only *comfort* in life and death? But in the end even they cannot afford to go without comfort in life. And since in the far future everything appears death-like and dark to them, they comfort themselves with the thought that it will take millions of years still before it comes about. The books and writings are not actual, said Professor

Haga in his oration referred to above, in which the earth is described as missing all warmth of the sun, and the last human pair is pictured as dying in a cold embrace. It were childish indeed, says Henne am Rhyn, to bemoan the fact that once everything shall have been, and that no one shall then take notice of us and of our efforts and labors. For there are still innumerable centuries before us, and it is worth the pains to establish something substantial for our children and our children's children.

As the latest future becomes darker and sadder, the evolutionists foster a proportionately higher expectation of the future near at hand. Man cannot live without hope. The individual may perish; after millions of years the human race may burn up or be frozen; in the near centuries a blessed and glorious future awaits us all. The paradise of the past was a piece of the imagination, according to the prophets of the development theory, in the near future it will be a tangible reality. A heaven above the earth is a pious but idle dream, but a heaven upon earth is near at hand. The development theory is made serviceable to this expectation. Behold, how far man has already advanced. He was an animal; he became a man; why should he not also become an angel? His dominion over the earth is extended ever more broadly. All the forces of nature are becoming subject to him. The riddles of creation disappear before his searching gaze. Life is enriched and glorified by his inventions and discoveries. Still a little while and paradise is instituted in the earth. From the mist the day shall break.

With glowing colors this future state is drawn by many evolutionists. When that day shall have come, says Haeckel, the service of the true, good, and beautiful shall be universal, and displace the old religion. Modern man shall have no more need of a church building. In free nature, wherever he looks out upon the boundless universe, he will find his church in nature itself. Nordan prophecies that in that day humanity shall no longer be an abstraction but a reality. Happy shall be the later born generations to whom it is apportioned to be bathed in the pure air and clear sunshine of this future, to live in this fraternity of humanity,

and to be true, wise, free, and good. And Allard Pierson proclaims that, in that future the man who prizes the higher civilization shall love woman as his sister, and the woman who respects herself shall love man as her brother, and the noblest of men shall indeed be children of one and the same family. The young man shall company with the young woman, and nothing shall divert their mind from the study and practice of highest interests; innocence shall have been restored.

Thus do the defenders of the so-called strictly scientific development theory dream dreams and picture pictures. They abandon themselves to greater illusions than the Chiliasts among Christians, who look for a kingdom of Christ in this present dispensation. For what can science know of the future? Who assures us that the high culture which the nations have attained unto shall endure and not become trodden down underneath threatening revolutions? Where is the culture of the Babylonians and Assyrians, of the Egyptians and Persians, even the Greeks and Romans? Has nothing been heard of the black, yellow, and red danger, of social revolutions, which threaten our whole civilization with overthrow and ruin? And what can one build upon a development which in days like the present is made serviceable to the strongest, to the triumph of violence, and to the glorification of the "Wille zur Macht"?

Anarchism refuses to practice patience any longer and is no more satisfied with the idle promises of a glorious but distant future. The men of a faithless science have continually reproached the Christians for confronting the comfortless with the promise of a blessed life in the hereafter. Now the complaint comes back upon their own heads; it is cast at their feet by their own spiritual children. What will it benefit us, they say, that thousands of years from now our posterity will taste of peace and plenty and gladness, while in the meantime we and our families must perish of hunger and need? The orthodox take out a draft on heaven, the liberals on a misty future. Both are equally uncertain. Provide us with means this day to live, to eat, and to be merry! And threats are on the increase, that unless this be willingly

granted they will obtain the same by violence, with the aid of petroleum and dynamite, of revolution and slaughter. No, truly, the golden age, so eagerly expected by many, has not yet come. Its dawn is not yet seen on the horizon. Watchman, what of the night?

No wonder that the increase is ever larger of such as wean themselves of expectation of the future and in gloomy despair preach pessimism. It is simple illusion, they say, to hope for better times. Socialistic equality is folly. To a few only it is given, at the price of the life and happiness of thousands, to devote themselves to the beautiful, to live in wealth and luxury, and to make use of the right of the strongest. They are the *Uebermenschen* (the overmen), the elect, the only blessed, the gods of the earth. But men have been animals and will remain such. Hence what befalls one man befalls humanity. It passes through its periods of infancy, youth, and years of maturity. After that it becomes aged, loses its strength, and desires nothing save rest and quiet, the rest of death, the silence of the grave, the eternal sorrowlessness of the nothing.

Complete bankruptcy, moral and spiritual, is the end of the modern world-view. It confirms the significant word of Paul, that he who is without God and without Christ is also without hope in the world. We Christians, however, thank God, have another hope, and a better founded expectation. We can talk of more glorious things since God has revealed them unto us in his word. The Holy Bible is a wonderful book. It narrates the creation of man after the divine image, and his terrible fall in sin and death. But at once the description follows of how God in infinite grace has appointed salvation for a lost humanity with the Hero, born of a virgin. While it leaves the heathen to pursue their own ways it relates in history and prophecy, in psalm and proverb the deliverances which he wrought for his people. And finally it leads us to the manger, places us at the foot of the cross, where the Christ dies, bearing our sin and reconciling the world unto God, and in the end points us to a glorious prospect of a new heaven and earth, in which God will dwell with his people and be all in all.

This is the development theory, and this the course of history according to the Scriptures; this is its expectation of the future; and this also the hope and desire of the children of God; they foster this hope without any fear that science can deprive them of it, for what can science know of to-morrow? Foolish are the expectations by which science seeks to displace the hope of Christians. There is indeed no other choice save between the ruin of all existing things as taught by present-day science, and the hope of the glory of the children of God, as preached by the Holy Scripture. And can the choice be doubtful? It is true that this future of the Christ will not be accomplished except by a violent crisis and conflict. Jesus came to the earth, not to bring peace but the sword, and to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law. They of a man's own household will be his foes. Nevertheless the future is glorious and the hope certain. The kingdom of heaven, founded by Jesus in the earth, is and abides, and shall nevermore be banished from the earth. The foundation of God stands sure, having this seal: the Lord knoweth them that are his. The gates of hell shall not prevail against his Church. The near future may be the portion of the world and Satan, the later future belongs certainly to Christ. If we had no knowledge except that of an immanent self-development, we would have no ground for this hope. The kingdom of heaven has not once come along the lines of gradual ascent, neither will it come along these lines in the future. Not from beneath but from above do we expect the righteousness and life, the blessedness and glory of God. But Christ who has come down to earth is he who has also ascended above all heavens, that he might fulfill all things. And he is exalted that once every knee to him should bow and every tongue confess that he is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.

H. Bavinck.

ART. II.—THE PREACHER AND HIS MESSAGE.

THE work of the prophet is essentially the same in all ages, to call men back to God and, by announcing God's word, help them to cultivate an intimacy of fellowship with their Lord. The preacher may be versed in literature, having the skill of a rhetorician and an orator, expounding Scripture with elaborate proofs, attracting multitudes by the charms of speech, yet, if he has not the voice and tone of a moral prophet, weighted with a message fresh from God to the hearts of men, his place is not in the pulpit. In discussing the relation between the preacher and his message, we call attention to the general character of the message, the method by which it is to be obtained, and what characteristics we should expect to find in the message of the preacher of to-day.

The preacher's message will have two factors—one permanent, being essentially the same for every preacher and for every age; the other variable, differing according to the individuality of the preacher and the characteristics of the age to which he speaks.

I. That permanent, essential factor arises out of the relation existing between God and his people. It does not consist in information or a dissertation even on religious truths. There may be all this without that vital element of a divine message. It is deeper than words; something that makes direct appeal to the religious sensibilities makes people feel that "this man has been with Christ;" that which, in every age, puts the stamp of divinity on the message of the prophet, arrests the sinner in his tracks, makes real the presence of a living God. In short, it is the voice of God, speaking through his prophet, calling men to himself. How is this essential factor of the message to be obtained? It is imparted to us directly through the religious consciousness, that faculty which takes cognizance of the personal relation between the soul and God. Hence, just as the mind must be enlarged and strengthened by disciplinary studies in order to receive truth, so must the religious consciousness be strengthened and cultivated by personal intercourse with the Lord in order that it may be

instructed in things divine. The preacher must have a living, growing acquaintance with the Lord, what is known as a good Christian experience. This is the vital thing, and everything else must be made absolutely subservient to it. Dogma cannot replace it, for this is a touchstone by which dogma itself must be tested. Again and again has the refined, sturdy, Christian consciousness revolted at the conclusions of a logical theology and planted itself firmly on its intuitions until logic has been compelled to come round to it. I hold, therefore, that not only must no course of conduct be pursued, no single act performed, that will in any wise interrupt this intimacy between the soul and God, but also that no thought should be entertained, no results of thought, though they may appear to our finite understanding to be logical, dare be accepted as finally true, that will in the least depreciate this living sense of the divine presence; for no man can be a true prophet without this witness to his own consciousness of the living presence and abiding favor of his Lord.

II. The other factor in the preacher's message is a variable one, and consists in the truths, facts, or doctrines that make up its setting, the terms in which it is interpreted to men. These will vary in every age, and, to some extent, with the individuality of the preacher. True prophets cannot differ in the essential part of their message—the call of God to men—but they will inevitably differ in their selection of the terms by which that message is to be interpreted or expressed, and in the truths or facts that are chosen as the vehicle for conveying that message to its destination. Now this distinction between the essential and the variable elements in the preacher's message should be kept in mind, for the great end of the preacher's work is not merely to teach truth, but to bring about in his hearers a right condition of soul, an attitude of harmony toward God, or, to put it scripturally, to save souls. Truth is a means to this end. That which is recognized as true in the age in which he lives and to which he ministers must be the basis on which he works to reach the hearts of the people. I say, the truth that is recognized as such in his day, for that which was recognized as truth in a former age and which served its purpose at that time will not answer for

to-day. Knowledge changes. We know very little about ultimate truth, though we are striving after it. It must, therefore, be in the very nature of things that "knowledge vanisheth away" and giveth place to higher, and yet higher, knowledge. That which abides is the faith that makes knowledge possible.

The particular truths through which the preacher is to make his message known and effective with his hearers are to be sought in every field—history, Scripture, science, philosophy, human life, everywhere. The underlying principle by which a preacher should be guided in his search for truth is that of a true liberalism of thought, which goes upon the assumption of continuity, or development, in thought. The present has grown out of the past and must in turn be prepared to give way to the larger thought of the future. On this principle a man must be just as true to the sacred heritage of the past as he is hopeful of the larger results to come. Failure to recognize this very important principle will account for much of the superficiality of hypercriticism as well as for the shortsightedness of many attacks made on modern scholarship. On the one hand we have those who seek the overthrow of every orthodox doctrine, and to reduce every tradition and marvel to a fable or myth, intoxicated by the flights of their own fancy and drawing most extravagant inferences from fragmentary data. At the other extreme we have a large class who look upon new investigations, new methods, and new results with suspicion and often with hostility. Both of these are wrong. The sound, healthy liberalism by which we are to seek truth and investigate facts clings to the old, not because it is old, but because it is true; welcomes the new, not because it is new, but because it is true; and every change which it feels called upon to make in former beliefs brings the soul consciously nearer to those eternal verities that are akin to every soul, whose roots strike deep down in the human heart, and whose branches overshadow all human needs.

Besides this liberal *principle* in his investigations, the preacher should have a *method* that is scientific. In this day of inductive science, the preacher must first get facts, then draw legitimate conclusions. Instead of trying to find out

whether certain statements are true, theologians have often contemplated certain unpleasant results that would follow, and argued, therefore, those statements cannot be true. For instance, many have said, if evolution be true, Christianity would be overthrown, forgetful that the question of evolution is purely scientific, and may well be left in the hands of the natural scientists who are competent to deal with it. So long as science or literary criticism gives us facts, well established, we are in honor bound to accept them, whatever changes they may necessitate in our former theories. Objections are brought against the use of scientific method on the part of the preacher. The claim is set up that the methods and results of the scientific inquirer are incompatible with the exercise of faith and the interests of evangelical Christianity. When men versed in literary criticism attempt to apply their standard to the Scriptures and their interpretation, compelling a restatement or readjustment in the doctrine of inspiration, they are denounced as infidels and agnostics. An evangelist of note, who claims to "have had unusually good opportunities for studying the case," and to "have given much time and careful thought to it," has said that upon the higher critics rests the chief responsibility for the prevalence of modern agnosticism, rationalism, theosophy, Christian science, intemperance, licentiousness, spiritualism, infidelity, crime, and worldliness; and his remarks were vigorously applauded by many preachers. Another prominent Methodist preacher recently expressed the sentiment of a large following when he said that before he would recommend young men to attend a certain theological school, he wanted to know whether "in that school it is taught that the Pentateuch as we now have it did not come from Moses, . . . but is a compilation from four or more documents," and, among other things, whether it is "taught that there are two or more Isaiahs, and that the Book of Daniel is the production of the times of Antiochus Epiphanes." Now we do not pretend here to judge as to the correctness of the results of modern historical and scientific investigation; but I do desire to call attention to the grounds upon which this opposition is based. The underlying cause of this opposition is the fear that modern scientific methods

may be prejudicial to Christian faith and their results disastrous to Christian evangelism. In answer to this objection we would say :

1. The spirituality of those in the Church who accept the methods of criticism and hold to the theory of theistic evolution will, as a rule, compare favorably with that of their radical opponents.

2. The scientific method is shown to be compatible with faith in that they both have common elements, being expressions of the same life of the human spirit. A pure religion is bound to start men out on a pursuit for knowledge, and the Christian religion, more than any other, by reason of its monotheistic character, its teaching of divine immanence, and its ability to reconstruct its formulas of doctrine, is adapted to dispose the mind to scientific pursuits. The great advances in science have been made chiefly through its Christian representatives. It was the same great struggle of the human spirit that, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, freed itself from the thralldom of mediæval scholasticism and threw off the fetters of ecclesiastical formalism to start a thorough renovation of a worldly Church. The same liberating force that opened up new fields for Columbus and Copernicus impelled Luther and Calvin in the religious reformation. Watt and Wesley wrought simultaneously. Carey, Judson, Livingstone, and the hosts of modern Protestant missionaries join hands with Fulton, Stephenson, Faraday, Helmholtz, and Edison. As these great movements in the fields of science and evangelical Christianity seem to have had a common origin, we may expect them eventually to harmonize in their results. The great religious revival for which we are all looking will not be due in any sense to repression of scientific methods and results, for history teaches us to expect scientific inquiry to accompany spiritual awakening.

3. If the results of honest investigation compel readjustment of creeds or entire abandonment of some traditional theories, the sooner such a change is made the better it will be for the soundness of our faith. I am aware that too many are prone to give judgment in favor of the new and novel theories before the advocates of the old doctrines have pre-

sented their evidence; yet I do not see why faith and reason should be regarded as hostile to each other, and why we should not heed the scriptural injunction to "examine all things" and to "hold fast that which is good," whether it be old or new. It is certainly a poor sort of faith that dreads to submit the truths of the Gospel to honest investigation. The heavenly order for us is not, as some one has expressed it, the old nursery rule, "Open your mouth and shut your eyes, and see what heaven will send you," but "Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord."

4. Many results of these investigations do not directly affect the real essentials of a living faith in Christ. For one, I have not yet been able to accept all the modifications in our traditional beliefs that have been suggested by competent critics; yet I do not see why we should be alarmed at a scientific theory that affirms continuity of development in nature while assuming constant action of divine power underneath it all. Surely, to explain phenomena by law does not take them out of the hands of the Creator. Again, why should we be thrown into convulsions at the mere suggestion of a change in our notions as to the authorship and date of some of the books of the Bible? Suppose Ignatius Donnelly should achieve the great purpose of his life and establish the Baconian authorship of the writings attributed to Shakespeare. Would that make us any less appreciative of those marvelous productions? Even though it should be shown that there were a hundred Isaiahs, the fact remains that the great prophecy stands and teaches truths that bear the impress of the divine mind. What matters it that there may have been some minor mistakes in the transmission of the Scriptures, so long as they give us a revelation of the Christ? Even though we should accept these suggested changes, they need not at all prevent us from retaining the exalted conception of Christ which is essential to a real, elevating, regenerating communion with him.

5. Many changes which the scientific method has necessitated in our creeds have been positively elevating and strengthening to religious faith. The old argument for design in nature that was based on a sort of mechanical adjustment of various parts has given way to a larger conception of continu-

ous development throughout the entire history of the universe; and thereby the argument from design has been wonderfully strengthened. Man can make a watch; only God can make a flower, and nourish it to full bloom. In many ways "the liberal soul has been made fat."

Time and space forbid more than a hint at some of the *characteristics* that should appear in the message of the modern preacher. He must preach the same old sturdy doctrines concerning sin and the salvation in Christ that have stirred hearts and purified lives since they were first proclaimed. These truths, however, will be proclaimed more effectively because they will be interpreted in terms of modern thought and applied to modern conditions. Among the truths that constitute the setting of the message of to-day is that of the divine immanence. God must be recognized as ever present and energizing in this world. At the same time the preacher's message must recognize the truth in the transcendence of God. God may be present and working in this world, but God and the universe are not identical. A direct supernatural agency must be recognized in the regeneration of souls and meeting the emergencies of human life. The doctrine of holiness will lose none of its efficacy from being restated in terms of the modern psychology, placing proper emphasis on the rectitude of the will. The preacher of to-day should be prepared to proclaim positive convictions on vital principles of Christianity. He must insist that all explanations as to the origin of conscience will not explain away the fact that conscience is here and asserts its commands with unconditional authority. Sin is here, and the preacher's business is to see what he can do to get rid of it. Whatever conclusions may be reached as to the ultimate source of divine authority, the consciousness of man bears witness to the fact that when God speaks we know his voice, through whatever channels it may reach us. Whatever be the authorship of the Scriptures they are here, and give us the law of human duty and a revelation of the Christ. Lotze says that "the process of getting clean is always uncleanly." In other words, we must expect to come in contact with dirt in order to get rid of it, and often to plow our way through doubt in order that we may be

able to dispel the doubts of others. Though it may cost much sweat of brain and agony of soul, it is the business of the preacher in every possible way to get right into the heart of the life and thought of the age, and there to *preach Christ*, the center of thought, the goal of human aspiration, the panacea for all social ills. Nor dare he be satisfied with a mere witnessing to the truth; but if that glorious revelation of Jesus Christ as his Saviour has found his own heart, it will strike fire, and he will never be content until Christ has been actually enthroned in the hearts and lives of his hearers.

One other factor should be considered in connection with this subject. In addition to the message itself, the messenger must have proper credentials, something to accredit him as one sent from God. In some ages the ministry has relied upon physical miracles as evidences of an accompaniment of supernatural power. In these days of wonderful advances in natural science people's minds have changed in their attitude toward the supernatural. Men no longer regard events as miraculous simply because they are marvelous. The belief in the supernatural is changing to other and higher grounds, demanding that we shall go back to the attitude of Christ, who regarded his character as the supreme evidence of his divinity, and his miracles as secondary. The present age demands with greater emphasis than ever that the messenger of God must show his credentials in a supernatural character. Men once said to the ministers of the Lord, "We accept you because we believe in God;" they now say, "We accept God because we believe in you." Though our lives may not be perfect, shall there not be such fullness of spiritual vitality that people shall *see us grow*? May God live near to us, yea within us, and help us, that we may

Be wise as serpents, where we go,
But harmless as the peaceful dove;
And let our heaven-taught conduct show
We are commissioned from above.

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Edgar V. DuBois

ART. III.—CHRISTIANITY AND SANITY.

CHRISTIANITY, as we find it in Christ's precepts and life, constitutes a unique system of mental hygiene. The grounds for this statement as here made are neither philosophical nor theological, but plain, matter-of-fact insight into human nature as we find it; and the contention of this article is that the fundamental principles of Christianity are the fundamental principles of a thoroughly wholesome mental life.

A prominent psychiatrist recently said that he believed no theological student should be graduated without spending at least three weeks of active service in an insane asylum; he believed it was impossible to thoroughly understand human nature or to minister most intelligently to its needs until one became somewhat acquainted with its pathological phenomena. His thought was not far wrong, however exaggerated his statement may at first appear. The insanities of mind certainly help us to understand many a shadow that crosses our normal consciousness. They expose human frailties and limitations with awful distinctness, while they indicate morbid tendencies that we must ever strive to correct and counteract. Their value, however, is not all negative; just as in general we regularly fail to appreciate health until we come into contact with disease, so, I believe, the insanities of mind reveal the hygienic value of many phases of our normal life that we ordinarily fail to appreciate. It is in this light I would be interpreted when I say that my work in pathological psychology has brought home to me over and over again the marvelous wholesomeness of the teachings of the Christ.

The wholesomeness of religion is not a universally admitted thesis. On the contrary religious phenomena are only too often regarded as something morbid and abnormal. The Master himself was accused of being in league with the spirit of evil. The little band of apostles were thought to be intoxicated when they were first baptized with the Holy Spirit. Even now conversion is sometimes studied as though it were something pathological; and religion is given a prominent place in the etiology of insanity by a majority of the text-

books. Moreover, many a scientist leading a blameless life, inspired by high ideals of service to humanity, holds himself aloof from the Christian Church because he is unwilling to compromise his high standard of truthfulness by subscribing to dogmas which he is unable to prove; and we not infrequently find an honest, upright man who regards religious enthusiasm as some sort of unbecoming emotional weakness. Unquestionably there is an element of truth in some of these counter contentions. Religious excitement certainly has occasioned the breakdown of many a weakened and unbalanced mind; but adolescence and childbirth have occasioned many more breakdowns, and they cannot be termed pathological or abnormal. I must admit, however, that the real difficulty is not got rid of in this easy negative argument, for there must be some morbid element in an otherwise normal event when it is the cause of a pathological process. I think it must be sorrowfully admitted that there are some quite generally accepted methods of stimulating religious interest which are not thoroughly wholesome, but they are certainly very far removed from the gentle, tactful methods of the Master when he called his disciples or awakened the slumbering longing for a better life in the Samaritan woman at the well of Jacob. And I venture the opinion that, since these questionable methods of revival have little in common with the spirit of the Master, Christianity should not be held responsible for their excesses.

It must be admitted, too, that insanity often adopts the formulæ of religious expression. Special revelations from God, special missions and even reincarnations of Christ are among its most frequent vagaries. But the time has passed in the history of psychiatry when the form of the delusions can be made the essential characteristic of the diseased condition. Any given delusion must be regarded not as the essence but as an accident of the disease process. The self-styled Messiah who promenades his asylum ward, contemptuously disdaining to notice either his fellow-patients or his physicians, has chosen a religious word to express an ego-centric consciousness which is perhaps as empty of religious content as a phonograph is which could reproduce the Lord's Prayer. It may be true that "there is no more weak, unstable, and shifty nature in

the world than that which finds its joy, perhaps its refuge, in an extremely narrow, exclusive, and egotistical religious profession," but I insist that here, too, religious forms are degraded by an irreligious spirit. The haughty ego-centric consciousness and narrow bigotry have nothing in common with the spirit of Christianity. Indeed, whatever name it assumes, nothing could be more manifestly antichristian, if we measure Christianity by its founder, and the doctrines he gave us, as he washed his disciples' feet, and rebuked forever the spirit of pride and selfishness.

We would not be understood to assert that Christianity presents a universal cure-all for diseases of the nervous system; neither does our thesis mean that it can altogether prevent the fruition of degeneration and atavism as we find them in any given individual. We do assert, on the other hand, that, if we take conditions as we find them, the only revelation of an absolutely wholesome soul life for ourselves and for those who will come after us is the revelation of the Nazarene. The conception of the Christ as a teacher of mental hygiene is not nearly so unnatural or forced as it may at first appear. On the contrary, we are thoroughly accustomed to think of the Christ as Saviour and Physician; so accustomed, I fear, to the words that we seldom ask seriously what they mean. Even in the Mosaic law there was a close relation between religion and wholesome life. Not the least of the wonderful features of the grand old body of traditions of ancient Judaism is the insight into the origin and prevention of disease. Unquestionably the Jewish race feels the influence of that insight down to the present time in its heritage of vitality and endurance. It almost seems as though those ancient lawgivers must have had some prevision of the facts brought to light by our modern bacteriology. Christ's power over disease is surely one of the most prominent characteristics of his work. Wherever he was he healed their infirmities, both bodily and mental. But Christ's emphasis was always on the soul life rather than the physical. Over and over again he insisted that his cure of physical disease was only an accident of his mission. It is doubtless this change of emphasis from physical well-being to spiritual well-being that most markedly dif-

ferentiates Christ's teaching from the ancient Jewish tradition. The ancient law condemned the libertine and murderer to death; Christ condemned the libidinous and the angry thought. The early Jews worshiped the God of battles with bloody sacrifice and complicated temple ritual; Christ revealed a God of love and peace to be worshiped exclusively neither in the temple at Jerusalem nor in the holy mountain in Samaria, neither with sacrifice of burnt offering, but in spirit and in truth, with humility and a pure heart. At no time, however, is the physical ignored. The service of the temple he would purify and spiritualize, not abolish. The subordination of the physical to the spiritual does not degrade it, but puts it in a new light of perpetual transfiguration. Not in precept alone, but also in his life is the spiritual supremacy evident. Christ chose deliberately to be king, not of material empire, but of the hearts of men. He suffered physically even unto death for that spiritual supremacy which, doubtless, could never have been otherwise realized. If Christ's mission really was to fulfill the law and spiritualize it, we should naturally expect to find in his teaching some spiritual analogues of the hygienic precepts in the older revelation. Our contention here is that this expectation is justified by the facts.

It would be amply worth our time to point out what I may call the lesser hygienic principles of Christ's teaching. Take, for example, the lesson of the lilies, with its principle of implicit trust and freedom from worry both physical and spiritual. True, it is not altogether new. There are similar precepts in the Psalms and prophets. There are similar precepts in pagan literature. But what we now seek to impress is the essential fact that it is altogether wholesome. The psychiatrist doesn't ordinarily fear the strain of honest work. It is good for one. And nature may usually be depended upon to make her demands for rest and relaxation in no uncertain voice. That part of our duties which rightfully belongs to any given moment is never oppressive. It is the emotional disturbances of the accumulated duties of the next week or month heaped together into one overwhelming present that is unbearable. It is congested worry that chokes and kills. But the lesson of the lilies is not limited to the worry of toiling and

spinning. It is the principle of universal peace. This is not to be confounded with Stoic indifference. Notwithstanding the misconceptions of the early Church, Christianity has little in common with the philosophy of repressed emotions and shirked social responsibilities. The Christ was thoroughly alive to every duty from his childhood. He rejoiced and wept. He pitied and he loved. His emotional life was rich and full. Only the unwholesome was banished. He never hated, he never worried; no, not when he journeyed toward Jerusalem for the last time or supped with his disciples in the upper chamber under the shadow of a disciple's faithlessness and of a bitter death.

Even more important to our thesis is the Christian antagonism to selfishness. The ego-centric consciousness is always conspicuously unwholesome. It is typical of almost every form of insanity from the megalomania of dementia to the contracted consciousness of the degenerate. Egotism is not only typical of developed mental diseases, it is also characteristic of their early stages. It is the constant and often absurd reference of casual occurrences to the self that marks the beginning of the manias of persecution, as well as the insanities of degeneracy. Christ's emphasis on humility and a life of service to others is not an arbitrary barrier to his kingdom. It lies in the very nature of things that selfishness and egotism are always morbid and unwholesome.

Both of these and, I believe, all the other lesser hygienic principles are special phases of one central principle of wholesome life, which seems to me to be coincident with the most characteristic and fundamental part of the Christian revelation. It is not our purpose here to discuss the question of origins. Whether the principle is intrinsically religious and consequently hygienic, or *vice versa*; whether, in any adequate conception of the world, the religious and the wholesome are identical, is for the present a secondary problem. Our object is to show that from whichever standpoint we view the matter, Christianity in its essence as attitude and activity is not only wholesome, but the only absolutely wholesome attitude and activity. It is a truism that healthy organic life depends on the complete organization of all parts of the individual into

one whole. Foreign matter must either be absorbed or expelled or it menaces the total welfare of the individual. Independent growths within the organism are always pathological. It is equally true that the organization of thought and activity is a condition of wholesome mental life. The most universal manifestation of deteriorated mind is what the pathologist calls its disorganization. A lack of unity through memory results in a "change of personality," or in dementia. A lack of unifying interest and the control of active attention results in a weak and vacillating existence, the prey of momentary temptations, the slave of every chance impulse. Morphine, alcohol, and other nerve poisons work the fearful havoc by which we know them, not merely through the short periods of lost self-control and irresponsibility directly following their use, but through the permanent weakening of mental organization, and inhibitory systems which condition the delicate restraints and balance of normal life. It is not the mere habit of taking opium or alcohol that enslaves men and makes brutes of them, it is the disorganization of mental life they produce, which gradually weakens every controlling motive, and leaves the victim no longer an individual, but an incoherent mass of conflicting tendencies, swayed by the first impulsive idea; no longer a personality, but a mob in which every consciousness of duty and justice is stampeded by the first blind passion. A similar phenomenon is presented by the disorganization of judgment. Whenever the criteria of truth and falsehood are consciously or unconsciously ignored, the first forceful idea presented by an imposing personality or reiterated with sufficient frequency assumes all the prerogatives of truth. Typical forms of such disorganization occur in the unsystematized paranoia of *dementia precox* and in our dreams. When the disorganization of action and thought becomes so complete as to endanger the individual's physical existence or society he is universally accounted insane; but I insist that insanity consists not in any special degree of disorganization but in the disorganization itself. Only the completely organized life is thoroughly healthy.

Primitive mental organization we call foresight. The laws of physical well-being force us to forego many an indulgence

to escape future pain. Indeed we often accept a present pain to avoid a greater. We submit to the merciful discomfort of the dentist's chair, to the washing of a wound, to the setting of a broken limb, not because of any intrinsic satisfaction in the operation, but because it belongs to a more or less far-reaching plan. He who allows each momentary impulse unbridled force is not only weak and unstable, his activity is ultimately self-destructive and suicidal. The plan according to which the various impulses of our lives are controlled and selected never remains for the fully developed human being at the level of the primitive mental organization. Man is a social being, and we sacrifice the present for the future, not merely with reference to self, but also with reference to others. The welfare of the family, the social system, or the state becomes part of our plan of life. This sacrifice reaches its extreme limit when the individual voluntarily abrogates his right to live for the sake of the welfare of others.

The first type of organization is the type of material organic adaptation to the totality of the physical environment. The second is social and ethical. It presupposes a larger unit of existence than the first, and in it the individual becomes an organic part of a greater whole. It is interesting to note how large a part these two stages of organization played in the religious life of the ancient Jews. The prayer, "O Lord, avenge me of mine adversary," grows out of a religious activity which seeks in God a powerful ally for the accomplishment of selfish ends. It is a little more than an extended primitive organization of the ego-centric type. The hope for the coming of the kingdom of the Messiah with its personal sacrifices ever looking toward Jerusalem in its prayers is typical of the second form. The individual forgets himself for social ends. It must be evident that there is a still higher type of organization corresponding not to the temporal and spatial, nor yet to the family and social environment. It is none other than that absolute organization which is conditioned by the attempt to effect a correspondence with the Infinite and the Eternal. This highest type of organization is preeminently the religious. It is the very essence of religion, I am convinced, to recognize a supersensuous reality and to attempt to effect a

correspondence with it. The standpoint may be ego-centric as in fetichism when the worshiper prays, "My will be done." It may be socio-centric. Or, finally, it may be absolute, when the true worshiper prays, "Thy will, O infinite and eternal God, be done!" This absolute organization, I insist, it is the unique service of Christ to have made tangible and real for us, partly by his discourse, most fully in his life.

The primary question with relation to the Christian religion which is before us as individuals for consideration, is not how much of this or that sectarian creed we can subscribe to, but solely and alone whether we shall follow that one life which lived not for self but for all men, not merely for his own time but for all time; whether we shall attempt to coordinate our activities under some eternal principle, whether we shall seek to make our life count for an onward step in the great world processes, or whether, on the other hand, we shall allow life to flicker away in self-contradictory activities, possibly storing up evil that our successors must painfully counteract. Whatever else conversion may mean to us it must ever mean preeminently a "new birth" into the *civitas Dei*, into the world, not of the now and the here, but of the Eternal and the Absolute. When the highest aspiration of our souls may find expression in the prayer, "Thy will, O Lord, be done by me! if so be that my life may count in the fulfillment of thine eternal purposes;" only then, I insist, can our life, taking its place in the life eternal, be thoroughly organized or thoroughly wholesome.

Raymond Dodge.

ART. IV.—THE MIRACULOUS BIRTH OF JESUS CHRIST.

THE Apostles' Creed, which most of us have been accustomed from childhood to repeat, and which all the Churches acknowledge as most ancient and worthy of some place in their public service, declares that Jesus Christ "was conceived by the Holy Ghost" and "born of the Virgin Mary." This confession has its scriptural basis in Matt. i, 20, and Luke i, 35, and has commanded a prominent place in the faith of Christendom. But in quite modern times the historical character of the first two chapters of Matthew and of Luke has been widely questioned, and the credibility of the miraculous birth of our Lord has been accordingly denied. Were such denial made by a class of ignorant skeptics and scoffers, or by men known to be unfriendly to the Christian religion, it would not be worthy of serious attention. But when such a man as H. A. W. Meyer, probably the most distinguished and influential New Testament commentator of the last generation, maintains that these chapters of Matthew and Luke are legendary; when the most famous leaders of the school of Ritschl in Germany would fain remove from the Apostles' Creed the statement cited above; and when a theologian so devout and conservative as the late Dr. Beyschlag, of Halle, finds no sure ground for belief in the New Testament record of the miraculous conception, one may reasonably pause and try to weigh without passion or prejudice the reasons which have led so many able divines to question the validity of this common belief of the Christian world.

We need not wonder, however, that the personality of Jesus Christ should command persistent scrutiny, nor is it strange that the gospel records which describe the remarkable beginning and end of his earthly career should invite perpetual study and criticism. Speaking after the manner of men, it must be acknowledged that the supernatural conception of Jesus and his resurrection and ascension into heaven seem so exceptionally miraculous as to invite distrust. But the miraculous conception has been more strenuously questioned than

the resurrection; for while all the New Testament writers acknowledge the resurrection of Jesus, only the gospels of Matthew and Luke record the supernatural birth. These facts are entitled to respectful consideration, but we may not assume that a question of this kind is to be settled by the mere number of witnesses in the case, nor can we allow any *a priori* assumption of the impossibility of miracle to affect the critical procedure.

It is easy for some to dismiss this question by the short method of authoritative dogmatism. Others have no patience with the details of critical inquiry. Multitudes of our people do not care to think at all. There are many, however, who in a matter of this profound and serious character wish for a broad and candid presentation. They do not doubt the sincerity of the men who deny the miraculous conception, but would like to see a fair and comprehensive statement of both sides of the controversy. One may also venture to submit that, even if the historicity of the first chapters of Matthew and Luke be as a whole open to suspicion, the miraculous conception may still be shown to be credible. Our aim in this article is first to state the reasons usually alleged for doubting the historical trustworthiness of the narratives in Matthew and Luke, and to offset them by such replies and other considerations as are entitled to equal attention. In this part of the discussion we study to abstain from anything which might be construed as partisan pleading, or as unwillingness to allow the full force of the opposite position. We shall then proceed to adduce the strong reasons outside the records of the miraculous birth which go to confirm the credibility of those narratives and to establish the faith and tradition of the Christian centuries.

1. The silence of Mark, Paul, and John touching the miraculous birth is construed to discredit the narratives of Luke and Matthew; for while the argument from silence has little weight in general, it may well appear strange that Paul, had he known of the miraculous birth of Jesus, should have nowhere made allusion to the remarkable fact. Still more strange and difficult to account for is the fact that the disciple who took the mother of Jesus to his own home after the cru-

cifixion (John xix, 27) has not a word to say about the supernatural conception. To this it may be answered that as Mark's narrative says nothing about Jesus before his baptism, its silence on any matter previous to that event has no value whatever in this argument. Moreover, from its secret and exceptional character, the miraculous conception could not well be employed by a writer like Paul either among Jews or Christians for apologetic or for dogmatic purposes. It may also be affirmed that the silence of the fourth gospel is a tacit confirmation of the earlier narratives of Matthew and Luke rather than the contrary; for the author was in a position to know and correct the falsity of such remarkable reports of Jesus's coming in the flesh, if they were indeed false.

2. The first two chapters of Matthew and Luke have seemed to many, on close critical inspection, to embody a later strata of tradition than the main portions of these same gospels. The poetic utterances of Mary (Luke i, 46-55) and of Zacharias (i, 67-79), and the language of Mary and Elisabeth in i, 34, 38, 43, possess the style of legend and of later composition. On the other hand, it may be deemed sufficient to reply that the narratives in these early chapters of Matthew and Luke are indeed the embellished compositions of writers who employed the analogous form and language of Old Testament Scriptures in giving a vivid word-picture of the marvelous events which as actual facts had been sacredly cherished among the few to whom they were known. The form of the narrative and the prophetic songs may be regarded as the elaborated compositions of a later time without disparaging the main facts of the record.

3. Noteworthy differences between the narratives of Matthew and Luke beget suspicion of the credibility of both. In Matthew all the revelations come to Joseph in dreams; but in Luke they are made by announcement to Mary. In reading Matt. ii, 22, 23, no one would imagine that Nazareth had been the early home of Joseph and Mary; but Luke tells us how the birth of Jesus occurred somewhat unexpectedly at Bethlehem (ii, 4-6), and he speaks of the return of his parents into Galilee, to their own city Nazareth (verse 39) without any apparent knowledge of a journey to Egypt and a sojourn

there, as narrated in Matthew's second chapter. Over against these allegations it may be quite sufficient to remark that the differences between Matthew and Luke do not involve any real contradiction or inconsistency. In fact, they supplement each other, and may be put forward rather as evidences of the fullness of the early traditions, from which each evangelist selected only that which best suited the scope and plan of his treatise. In the course of events so remarkable, both Mary and Joseph needed the assurances of repeated revelations.

4. The genealogies of Matthew and Luke, both being a tracing of the line of Joseph, seem to assume from first to last that he was the father of the child Jesus. The parenthetic "as was supposed," in Luke iii, 23, looks like an interpolation, and the words "his parents," "father and mother," "thy father and I" (Luke ii, 27, 33, 41, 43, 48) imply a real relationship. To this it is answered that there was a very real and proper relationship which in common custom and discourse warranted the language here cited. The parenthetic clause is justified and accredited by the entire narrative of the two preceding chapters of Luke. Surely, an adopted child may call his foster parents father and mother; with equal and with even greater propriety might these words have been used in the passages referred to without determining anything as to the real facts of the birth of Jesus and his relation to Joseph.

5. His neighbors seem to know nothing of Jesus' supernatural birth, but they speak of him as "the carpenter's son," and of "his brethren, James, and Joseph, and Simon, and Judas, and his sisters." They ask, "Is not this Jesus the son of Joseph, whose father and mother we know?" (Matt. xiii, 55; Mark vi, 3; Luke iv, 22; John vi, 42.) But it is not to be thus quietly assumed that the neighbors must know a family secret as holy and peculiar as this. The mother of Jesus kept these things as a sacred treasure in her heart (Luke ii, 51). The time for making them known appropriately followed other evidences of his heavenly origin.

6. But his own brethren and most intimate friends do not seem to have known of his supernatural birth. It is said in Mark iii, 21, that his friends thought him beside himself, and

in John vii, 5, that his brethren did not believe on him. This objection may be met substantially as the preceding. If these were older brethren, as some suppose, children of Joseph by a former marriage, there is no sufficient reason to suppose that the holy secret would have been imparted to them. None of them may have been old enough to remember even remarkable occurrences connected with the birth of Jesus, and they would probably have been left with friends in Nazareth when Joseph and Mary went to Bethlehem. But if they were younger brethren, and had even been told something about the remarkable events of the birth of their mother's firstborn son, the lapse of twenty or twenty-five years would have largely removed the impression of it from their thoughts.

7. It is deemed inexplicably strange that in setting forth the facts and claims of Jesus's life no appeal, no reference even, is made in the Acts or in the apostolical epistles to the fact of the supernatural conception and virgin birth. To which it is proper to reply that we are not in a position to judge what was the wise and expedient use to make of such a fact in the apostolic writings. Is it not rather obvious that a miracle of supernatural birth, though well known and accepted among the first disciples, was not a proper subject for public proclamation in the first outgoings of the Gospel? The claims of Jesus to the homage of mankind were first to be set forth on other grounds.

8. The tendency of tradition to glorify the birth and infancy of great men is well known, and the ideals of supernatural intervention associated in biblical history with the birth of Isaac, Samson, Samuel, and John the Baptist are of similar character. This tendency went on in the case of Jesus to the production of all the marvelous stories which are found in the apocryphal gospels; and dogmatic presuppositions led on to the maintenance of the perpetual virginity of Mary, and finally of the immaculate conception of the virgin "mother of God," and all related and consequent Mariolatry. The tendency here mentioned is readily conceded; but it does not follow that we must therefore reject or deem incredible all reports of remarkable signs attending the birth of those whose coming into the world was destined to change the course

of human affairs. The accretions of later legend, dogma, and superstition touching the Virgin Mary do not necessarily discredit the biblical narratives, but point back rather to some sure foundation of fact.* The observance of the law of purification, as recorded in Luke ii, 22, is in notable contrast with the tendency of thought which developed the dogma of the immaculate conception of Mary. How could a mere ideal legend of the supernatural conception and birth of a holy child, begotten of the overshadowing power of the Most High, have allied itself to the rites of purification? Must not such a holy conception and birth have sanctified the virgin mother rather than have rendered her unclean?†

The foregoing reasons for doubting the historical trustworthiness of the narratives of Jesus' supernatural birth are thus shown to be of a negative character, and may be fairly offset in detail by such considerations as we have presented. Not one of these objections when taken separately, nor all of them when put together, would be sufficient in their nature to set aside a well-attested fact of history. At the same time it may be fairly claimed that an unbiased mind, bent upon a purely historical investigation, would naturally feel that the remarkable nature of the subject-matter, the large proportion of dreams and visions and poetry embodied in the chapters in question, and the lack of corresponding testimony in other parts of the New Testament, expose the historicity of the miraculous conception to very serious suspicion. Certain it is that nowhere in the New Testament is this subject of the miraculous birth put forth as an article of faith. That Jesus Christ was manifested in the flesh (1 Tim. iii, 16; 1 John iv,

* To perceive what grotesquely fictitious stories real legend may weave around an historical character, the most superficial reader has only to peruse the apocryphal *Protevangelium of James*, the *Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew*, the *Gospel of the Nativity of Mary*, the *Gospel of the Infancy of the Saviour*, the *Gospel of Thomas*, and the *History of Joseph the Carpenter*, to find a tone and range of thought unworthy to be compared with the sober simplicity and devout reserve which are so noticeable in the narratives of Matthew and Luke. So, too, the stories of the miraculous birth of Buddha appear absurd and puerile in comparison with our gospel narratives of the birth of Jesus.

† There was certainly nothing in Judaism or Hebrew tradition, which held marriage and the legitimate begetting of children in highest honor, to favor, much less to originate, a fictitious legend about the birth of Jesus; and the supposition that such a legend first started among Gentile Christians, found favor with Jewish Christians, and obtained the credence of such early writers as the compilers of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, is hardly thinkable.

2; 2 John 7) was maintained as fact and fundamental doctrine, but such a statement does not necessarily mean supernatural conception in the womb of a virgin. To maintain therefore the credibility of the miraculous birth it would seem necessary to do something more than offset the aforementioned objections of criticism by pointing out that the objections are in themselves negative and inconclusive. For while the critical reasons for doubt cannot of themselves disprove the alleged fact, the answers to these reasons are not of themselves adequate to establish the fact. The real question here at issue is not one of possibility but of fact, and in order to make out a convincing argument the documentary testimony must be supplemented by adducing other kinds of evidence, and by proving the person and work of Jesus to be so transcendent as to warrant the presumption of an extraordinary beginning and end of his career. If it be true that Jesus Christ stands apart from all other men in an order by himself, and that God was in him as in no other man that has been or shall be, it may be seen that his supernatural birth is but a natural and fitting part of one supreme manifestation of God in a human personality. And if this transcendent superiority of Jesus is a demonstrable fact, it cannot be fairly objected to the presentation of such a fact, as tending to confirm the record of his exceptional birth, that we resort to a use of dogma in support of a question of fact; for it is not dogma but a demonstrable fact which is thus put forward to show the probability of other alleged facts.

1. The first correlative fact to be put forward as in keeping with the supernatural birth is the resurrection of Jesus as witnessed by those who testified that they "did eat and drink with him after he rose from the dead" (Acts x, 41). This fact is generally supposed to be better attested than the record of the miraculous conception, for we read it in all four of the canonical gospels and in the epistles of Paul, not to speak of its mention in other New Testament writings. Paul was intimately acquainted with Peter, having spent fifteen days with him at one time in Jerusalem (Gal. i, 18). He declares that the risen Christ was seen by Peter, and James, and the twelve, and also by more than five hundred at one time, the greater

part of whom were living in his day (1 Cor. xv, 5-7). His own vision of the living Jesus confirmed all this testimony in his own soul. These statements of Paul are reasonably accepted as resting upon the testimony of trustworthy eye-witnesses, but substantially the same facts are recorded in the last chapters of Matthew and Luke. Even though these gospels were written fifty or sixty years after the death of Jesus, the writers were in a position to "trace the course of all things accurately from the first" (Luke i, 3), and to draw up their narratives from the testimony of eyewitnesses. An unbiased critic may accordingly aver that it is quite arbitrary and notably inconsistent to accept as credibly historical the content of the last chapters of Luke and Matthew, which record the supernatural resurrection, and reject the first chapters of these same gospels, which record the supernatural birth. To be thoroughly consistent one must needs either accept or reject all these narratives of the supernatural, for they are all equally marvelous. And with these narratives must go also the testimony of Paul and all the other New Testament writers who affirm the resurrection of our Lord.

2. The ascension of Christ to the right hand of God is another correlative fact which by parity of reasoning must stand or fall with the supernatural birth and the resurrection. Luke is the main witness to the visibility of the ascension. He states that after various appearances to his disciples subsequent to his resurrection, "it came to pass, while he blessed them, he parted from them," and most ancient authorities add, "he was carried up into heaven" (Luke xxiv, 51); but the last clause is wanting in a number of ancient manuscripts. In Acts i, 9, it is plainly declared that "as they were looking, he was taken up, and a cloud received him out of their sight." The appendix to Mark's gospel says that "the Lord Jesus, after he had spoken unto them, was received up into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of God." John xx, 17, represents the risen Lord as saying to Mary Magdalene, "I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and my God and your God." In the preaching of Peter in Acts ii, 32-34, it is asserted that Jesus ascended into the heavens, God having raised him from the dead and exalted him by his right hand. Paul declares in Rom. viii, 34,

that Christ Jesus was raised from the dead and is at the right hand of God. It is written in Eph. iv, 10, that Christ "ascended far above all the heavens," and in Heb. iv, 14; vii, 26; viii, 1, that he "has passed through the heavens," "was made higher than the heavens," and "sat down on the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in the heavens." These and still other similar statements place the ascension into heaven on as creditable a basis historically as the resurrection; for while Luke alone records that the disciples were looking on when Jesus was parted from them and taken up, the whole New Testament is a unit in affirming his ascension into heaven and his sitting at the right hand of God. If now the miraculous entrance into the world is denied on the ground of its paradoxical and legendary character, we see not how the miraculous exit of Jesus from the world can be consistently maintained.

3. Nor can we consistently stop with the rejection of the miracles of the resurrection and the ascension. All the narratives of miraculous works performed by Jesus, as recorded in the four gospels and reported in apostolical tradition, must go along with the reports of the greater wonders of the supernatural birth and the resurrection. We have detailed accounts of his healing the sick with a word of command, and in the same miraculous manner curing the lame, and withered, and deaf, and dumb, and paralytic, and lunatics, and demoniacs, giving sight to the blind, walking on the sea, stilling the tempest, and raising the dead to life. According to the earliest traceable oral tradition and the oldest written records, the public ministry of our Lord seems to have teemed with miracles. We are not able to divorce his mighty works from his mighty teaching. And it is utterly futile to reject a reported miracle because we find it recorded in one gospel only. We should on the same ground reject the parables of the tares, the good Samaritan, and the prodigal son.

4. Furthermore, the totality of superior qualities, which all Christendom has by a common consent acknowledged in Jesus Christ, cannot be altogether ignored in a fair and full discussion of the supernatural birth. Is it then a fact that as a man among men Jesus was so separate from sinners as to be without sin, holy, guileless, tempted like other men, but never

yielding to an evil suggestion, possessed of all moral and spiritual excellence, matchless in the wisdom and power of his teaching, universal in his sympathies, though for definite reasons confining his ministry almost entirely to his own Jewish people, fulfilling in the deepest sense the law and the prophets, and introducing the religion of the kingdom of heaven on earth which from the first immeasurably transcended all the existing religious systems of the world—is all this true as a matter of fact? The great majority of the Christian people of the world to-day believe it is true, and the fact is also conceded by not a few who do not confess themselves Christians. There is perhaps no question which is more commanding and more perplexing to philosophical minds of a religious but skeptical cast than that of the person of the historic Christ. We submit that this commanding personality, so profoundly worshipful in all his moral perfections, holds conspicuous and consistent correlation with the alleged fact of the supernatural birth.

We need not complicate this discussion with the question of the preexistence of Christ, for that subject may be considered more a matter of doctrine than of fact.* The foregoing argument is submitted as fairly leading to the conclusion that a rejection of the tradition of the miraculous birth of Jesus carries with it logically and exegetically a like rejection of all that has hitherto been regarded as truly miraculous in the person and work of Jesus Christ. But there are several distinguishable positions which may be stated with brief comment, as follows:

1. There are those who deny the supernatural altogether. With them miracles are essentially impossible in either the natural or the moral order of the world. The miraculous con-

* A matter which some would urge as of no little importance in its bearing on the transcendent personality of Jesus is the witness derived from Old Testament prophecy. Apart from all disputed interpretations of particular passages, there remains the commanding fact, to be duly reckoned with, that for some six or seven hundred years before the birth of Jesus the Messianic hope had been growing in the hearts of the Israelitish people, and had reached its highest degree of pious expectation at the time our Lord appeared. But as a Messianic hope it has no necessary connection with the question of the supernatural birth of the Messiah. Only that interpretation of Isa. vii, 14, and Matt. i, 22, 23, which is now generally discarded as exegetically unsound can construct a relevant argument for the miraculous conception on this ground.

ception can of course find no acceptance with this class of thinkers, and they are thoroughly consistent in rejecting the reports and traditions of all other alleged miracles. But when anyone of this class takes in hand to explain the commanding mystery of the person of Christ, the result is of a most unsatisfactory character. The intangible residuum which is left after eliminating from the Jesus of history all that savors of the supernatural seems so utterly inadequate to account for his personal influence over the men of his time and for the facts which have demonstrably followed as direct results of his appearance in the world, that few if any have been thoroughly satisfied with the various naturalistic hypotheses proposed to explain the earliest records of Christianity.

2. There are others who are persuaded that Jesus must have performed many marvelous works, for they affirm that nothing less than this admission can treat the New Testament records with rational fairness. Critics of this class pursue an eclectic course, and sometimes presume to say what particular miracles may, and what may not, have been actually wrought by Jesus. Most of the cases of remarkable healing are accepted as credible; the casting out of demons is regarded as a tactful accommodation to the superstition of the times, and along with it a truly skillful treatment of certain cases of disordered mental action, resulting in real "mind cure." The deaf, the dumb, and the blind may also have been cured by the superior wisdom and power of the wonderful man who was at once teacher, prophet, and physician. But such miracles as walking on the water are regarded as instances of illusion, and the raising of Lazarus, and the son of the widow of Nain, and Jairus's daughter are rejected as incredible. The position of this class of thinkers, however, seems less satisfactory than that of those who consistently deny the reality of all alleged miracles. These eclectic critics leave us all at sea, and each reader of the records becomes a law unto himself.

3. But there are some who acknowledge the truly supernatural in Jesus, and admit the great miracles attributed to him in the gospels, including his resurrection from the dead, but deny the credibility of the miraculous conception. It is no doubt the right of the critical mind to discriminate in questions of this

magnitude. One may consistently accept the miraculous, and yet hesitate to accept a tradition so strange and exceptional, so paradoxical, so bizarre, as the miraculous conception and virgin birth of even the most adorable character known to human history. In view of all the considerations noticed in the present article, the Churches do well to refrain from erecting this one questioned fact into a distinctive and essential article of faith. But we may well question the consistency of that position which freely accepts all else that is miraculous in the life and work of Christ and yet stumbles over the miraculous beginning of his incarnation.

4. There remains what seems to us the only self-consistent position in a rational explanation of all the facts which enter into this discussion, namely, that the holy child Jesus was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary, and is divinely entitled to be called "the only begotten Son of God." He was according to Paul the second and last Adam, the man from heaven, the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of all creation, the beginning (*ἀρχή*), the firstborn from the dead, the Alpha and the Omega of John's "Revelation of Jesus Christ." If we believe that life in the cosmos originated, not in nonliving matter, but in a principle of life imparted immediately from the living God, so also we believe the human life of the immaculate Son of God was supernaturally begotten of the same Source of all life and being. And even if one should concede that the historicity of the first chapters of Matthew and Luke is open to some measure of reasonable doubt, such a concession would not necessarily invalidate the fact of the miraculous birth of Jesus Christ. That transcendent fact finds a mighty support on other grounds. And we are compelled, by the force of all the evidence adduced, to accept this adorable mystery of Him who, according to one of the very earliest confessions of faith,

Was manifested in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached among the nations, believed on in the world, received up in glory.

Milton S. Terry

ART. V.—HYMNS AS LITERATURE.

A RECENT utterance of a college professor to the effect that hymns are doggerel has brought him into notoriety, and many and forcible have been the rejoinders of the press. While Mr. Triggs deserves censure for his utterance, several of the replies have been intemperate and much of the adverse criticism undeserved. Both the critics and the criticised misunderstand each other, and are overzealous in defense of their respective positions. Of course the professor, if correctly reported, made an inexcusably ignorant and prejudiced generalization. But the champions of hymnology gain nothing by refusing to admit that there is an equally grave danger of claiming the sacred name of poetry for much that is excellent and serviceable, but, regarded as literature, quite valueless. Many hymns included in the "Gospel" and Sunday school collections are doggerel. For instance:

Shun evil companions,
Bad language disdain,
God's name hold in reverence,
Nor take it in vain.

Except for the fact that these lines contain a rhyme, they are nothing except very bad prose. Many hymns, moreover, which just escape being doggerel are very commonplace verse. Indeed three fourths of all our hymns in current use have very little literary value.

But (and here is the point that the professor misses) they may be most admirable hymns for all that. For it must constantly be kept in mind that the purpose of hymns is different from that of those forms of verse which are primarily designed to be read. The aim of music and the aim of poetry is in each case to arouse emotion, but verse which is not meant to be sung has an obviously harder task in accomplishing this aim than verse which is written for music. Music, which is the most purely emotional of the arts, furnishes a powerful accessory to words, and instances are not wanting where words which in themselves are commonplace can make a powerful appeal to the heart when wedded to a noble and moving tune. For example:

Nearer, my God, to thee !
 Nearer to thee,
 E'en though it be a cross
 That raiseth me ;
 Still all my song shall be,
 Nearer, my God, to thee,
 Nearer to thee !

Though like the wanderer,
 The sun gone down,
 Darkness be over me,
 My rest a stone.

And so on. Or again :

Here I'll raise mine Ebenezer ;
 Hither by thy help I'm come ;
 And I hope, by thy good pleasure,
 Safely to arrive at home.

Home and *come* are somewhat unhappily married, but what shall one say of such a pair as *Ebenezer* and *pleasure* ! *Ebenezer*, in any case, is an essentially unpoetical word, and gives an awkward, not to say grotesque, effect to the line. Once more :

My native country, thee,
 Land of the noble, free,
 Thy name I love ;
 I love thy rocks and rills,
 Thy woods and templed hills :
 My heart with rapture thrills
 Like that above.

It is plain that, weighed in the scale of literature, such a stanza is like the fine dust of the balance.

It will, moreover, be seen that the words of hymns not only do not *need* to be as self-sufficient as those of other poems, but also that the very bareness and simplicity of hymns, so long as the latter escape actual commonplace, are an advantage. A poem which is involved or heavy with thought may make agreeable reading for the student, but it will make a poor hymn. Not only that, poems which are elaborate, rich with rhetorical ornament and the charms of conscious phrase, will delight the esthetically trained, but are unfitted to be sung. Few, if any, of Browning's poems on the one hand or Tennyson's on the other would therefore serve as models for hymns, whereas not a few of Whittier's poems, though their author was not nearly as great a poet as either of his English contemporaries, are genuine additions to hymnology.

The Quaker poet had a sort of unborrowed simplicity which amounted to originality. Some of his writings drop into commonplace, but his poems of religious devotion never do. Their sincerity and intensity of feeling save them, despite their obviousness and almost childlike artlessness, from mediocrity.

It is not difficult to understand why a professional critic is led so easily to undervalue hymns. He is induced by his very training to hate the commonplace or any approach to it. With Emerson he loves the unexpected, and would

mount to Paradise
By the stairway of surprise.

But when singing a hymn we are left no time to interpret the unusual or the unexpected; half our attention is diverted to, if not distracted by, the musical tune, and we must catch the meaning on the instant. Simplicity is imperative. One handicap under which the hymn writer works is the monotonous uniformity of rhythmical structure which is forced upon him by the tune. A poet is given the widest liberty to substitute one kind of metrical foot for another, to add light, rapid syllables in the unit of rhythm in place of fewer and slower ones, and to introduce rests or silences in the place of syllables. These elements of variety in rhythm greatly increase the charm of versification, and they are constantly employed by the masters of English poetry. For instance, the opening line of the first stanza in one of Tennyson's familiar lyrics is *Break, break, break*, and the corresponding line of the second stanza is *O well for the fisherman's boy*. Now the movement in the two lines, each of which has three beats or accents, is not inharmonious; indeed the variety caused by the omission of one or more syllables, which would be indicated in music by a "rest," is an added charm. But both lines could not readily be sung to the same notes. Neither could the opening lines of two stanzas in "Crossing the Bar:" *Sunset and evening star*, and *But such a tide as moving seems asleep*. Many of the devices employed in verse to obviate sameness are unavailable in hymns, and their absence detracts from the popularity of this literary form among those who approach it in the spirit of criticism.

Again, the unpopularity of hymns among the fastidious is partly due to the carelessness of the hymnists. The matter of faulty rhymes would alone furnish numerous illustrations. Most of our famous hymns were written in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, when lyric poets wrote with a large hand, and when fluency and passion were allowed to cover a multitude of minor artistic sins. Since the great examples of Keats, Tennyson, and Rossetti no poet who expects a wide hearing dares to be anything less than scrupulous in technique, but it was not so in the days of our grandfathers. It may be objected that even Tennyson's rhymes are sometimes inexact. True; but always consciously and with a purpose. They are not slovenly like

Tongue can never express
The sweet comfort and peace,

but are introduced like an accidental in music in order to give the charm of unexpectedness, as for example :

Only reapers, reaping early
In among the bearded barley,

where the broader vowel sound follows the narrower. Tennyson would no more have had *barley* precede *early*, or (in "A Farewell") have made *forever* take precedence of *river*, than he would have brought two *s*'s together.

The hymn is a lyric, and must conform to the requirements of a lyric. It must be brief, must possess unity, must be, in the broad sense, subjective, and must be personal although interpretive of universal experience. Like all literature of value, also, it must as a first requisite be sincere. A hymn which is not fundamentally marked by truth, which leaves the least suspicion of insincerity, is the most worthless of all. For example, take this familiar stanza from one of the Gospel Hymns, which has been frequently and justly criticised :

O, to be nothing, nothing,
Only to lie at His feet,
A broken and emptied vessel
For the Master's use made meet.

The sentiment here is unhealthy and unchristian. It may even be doubted whether the author could have meant it, though one does not doubt that he thought he meant it. No

one in his sane senses believes the desire to be nothing to be a laudable religious motive. We are to covet earnestly the best gifts, to be thoroughly furnished unto all good works. The conception that God can most easily fill a broken vessel with his Spirit is not Christianity, but asceticism. Men used to wear their bodies down to the bone that they might better be filled with religious emotion, but the best thought of the world has moved far beyond that point of view. Not only is the greatest hymn marked by truth, but it embodies those truths which are assented to by the majority of Christian believers. The hymn which is the vehicle of sectarian beliefs is obviously of less value to the Church at large than that which appeals to devout hearts the world over. We would not be understood to say that concessions should be made to agnosticism, or even that the evangelical element in hymns should be omitted in deference to the opinions of so-called liberal bodies. The latter sects are numerically small in comparison with the evangelical, and have produced no such proportion of our best hymns. It is pitiful to see the work of our great hymnists, such as Watts, Wesley, Cowper, Doddridge, Montgomery, and Faber, stripped of its distinctive charm, so as to bring it within the confines of a rationalistic creed. One hardly sees how a sensible person of whatever faith can have any patience with the compiler of a Unitarian hymn book who recently changed "Jesus, Lover of my soul," to read, "Father, Lover of my soul," or regard it as anything less than absurd, if not indeed sacrilegious, when a prayerless coterie calling itself the "Exodus Society, The Church of The Science of Being" mangles and perverts the hymn, "Awake, my soul, stretch every nerve," after this fashion :

'Tis truth's all-animating voice
That calls thee from on high ;
'Tis His own hand presents the prize
To thine aspiring eye.
O blessed Truth, now led by Thee,
Have I my race begun;
And crowned with victory at Thy feet,
I'll lay my honors down.

On the other hand it must be admitted that points of creed

which are very generally held in dispute, as particular theories of the atonement, for instance, should not be introduced into these songs of the Church universal. The vast body of Christian believers can join in singing "Rock of Ages, cleft for me;" the body of evangelical believers, which constitutes the great majority of the Church, can join in singing "When I survey the wondrous cross." But what of Wesley's "Arise, my soul, arise," which sets forth by implication a view of the atonement which the best thought (even the best conservative thought) of our time has distinctly passed by? A noble and impassioned hymn it is, but viewed as literature it is in a lower class than either of the other two, since it is the instrument for propagating an individual opinion rather than a universal truth. The thought of one part of the Godhead arguing with another part and finally persuading the reluctant and all but implacable Deity to an act of clemency is repugnant to the intellectual temper of our day, and the hymnody which is the vehicle of false or narrow conceptions of our Father in heaven cannot prove an addition to literature.

While one must not be ungrateful for the magnificent hymns which are among the chief glories of the Church, one cannot but feel convinced that the greatest hymns are yet unwritten. The hymn writer of the past has been wont to confine his view too exclusively to certain sides of Christian theology and Christian experience. More than one important aspect of religious thought has remained untouched. Christ's divinity, mediatorship, atonement, have been incessantly chanted, but how few hymns have adequately dealt with his humanity! We have had much about his meekness, patience, sufferings; how little about his manliness and strength! How many hymns, moreover, have dealt much with one's own salvation, have appealed to one's religious self-interest; how few have struck the noble note—in reality the central note of the Christian faith—of self-forgetfulness and disinterested service for others! We can hardly hear the desire too frequently expressed for "a heart to praise (our) God, a heart from sin set free," yet surely we can profitably hear far more than we do of

A heart at leisure from itself
To soothe and sympathize.

While it must be conceded, then, that there is some ground for the common dissatisfaction with our present songs of worship, may it not often be true that one's aversion to hymns is not as unprejudiced or ingenuous as one really believes? A sincere lover of hymnology is very ready to acknowledge its peculiar faults and dangers. Indiscriminate praise is as uncritical as indiscriminate abuse. But when it comes to a bitter reviler of hymns, one may be pardoned for harboring suspicions. A woman-hater would hardly be expected to care for the love poetry of Burns, and it would be strange indeed if an agnostic of aggressive temper failed to be disappointed, bored, or irritated by the glowing religious lyrics of Charles Wesley or Isaac Watts, which to his mind must embody gross and childish superstitions. Is it easy—nay, is it possible—for such a man to weigh impartially the merits of the great hymns of the faith? The best recipe for learning to love hymns is very simple and old-fashioned, and the Chicago professor would undoubtedly accuse one of cant were one to suggest it.

When read critically and apart from the tunes to which they have been wedded, most hymns are not wholly satisfactory to the student of pure literature. But to say, as the professor referred to is understood to have said, that there is only one hymn which rises into the realm of literature is to the last degree absurd. "Lead, Kindly Light" deserves a high place in any candid estimate, but it is very doubtful whether there are not a dozen hymns quite as excellent. A familiar example is the superb lyric of Watts's beginning:

O God, our help in ages past,
Our hope for years to come.

It is easy to see that the critic was pleased with the utterly undogmatic temper of Newman's lines. Had the words *gentle Christ* been substituted for *kindly light*, the hymn would doubtless have been swept away into the limbo to which all the other songs of the Church were consigned.

Every great poet comes to us, like the founder of Christianity, to give us life and life more abundantly. But life is not summed up in the breathing of oxygen and the digestion

of food. When the deep moments of the Spirit are holding us, and the soul reaches out for strength and guidance, it is not to the poets of loveliness and external nature that one turns, it is to the poets of religion. The greatest literature reaches down into the spiritual soil. Sermonizing we do not want, but we do want a view of life which shall not leave out of account its largest and most important hearings. Art does not exist, as some have maintained, for its own sake, but for the sake of inspiring pleasure; and the greatest art is that which appeals to the highest and most permanent sources of pleasure. The purpose of science is to appeal to the intelligence—to impart fact. Art exists for the purpose of moving the emotions. But the emotions excited by Tennyson's "In Memoriam" are certainly of a higher order than those aroused by his "Airy Fairy Lilian." If, then, the highest art contributes to the highest pleasures, it must be related to the deeper emotions and the conscience—to the life of the Spirit. And herein lies the justification of hymns regarded as literature. In the past their utility has been very generally recognized by the Church; in the future their charm as well as serviceability is certain to become increasingly evident. One of the highest forms of the literature of to-morrow will be the hymn, and it will make its appeal not alone to the ecclesiastical zealot, but quite as much to the student and lover of poetry.

Frederic L. Knowles

ART. VI.—THE CAUSE AND CURE OF POVERTY.

It is only true to say that when the Christian Church began to wrangle about the nature of Christ it then lost sight of his great work. Christ was a being of great excellence and purity, and he extended a helping hand to all who had sunk to the lower depths of depravity and uncleanness. He came to better the condition of the race physically as well as save the soul from sin and death. His sympathy for the poor and unfortunate distinguished him from all other teachers of his day. He was the first teacher to care for the poor, and to recognize those whom the governors overlooked. The Pharisees courted the rich and treated the poor and ignorant with contempt. To preach the Gospel to the poor was a Messianic mark, as it is still one of the marks of genuine piety and love. No profession of piety is genuine that does not care for the poor and unfortunate. Wealth brings its possessor before great men, secures positions of influence and authority over those who are poorer, enabling a man to become a governor or senator. But wealth is always insecure. If it has been dishonestly obtained it is worse than useless to its owner. The treasures of wickedness profit nothing. It is better to be an honest poor man than a wicked rich one. A good name weighs more than a good bank account, and is rather to be chosen than great riches. There are advantages in riches and inconveniences in poverty, yet the great law of compensation holds good all along the line, and there is always some offset for either good or evil fortune. The rich man often feels a sense of pressure from the magnitude of his wealth. He is a slave to his own property. He is harassed by the continual demands for money, being in that respect almost as badly off as an impecunious wretch beset by a throng of relentless creditors. Often his health will not allow him to enjoy champagne or rich viands. His grand mansion is often only a boarding house for servants, and as for his wealth he is not even able to see it. When a good man becomes possessed of

a passion to get rich he soon becomes bad. "He that hath an evil eye hasteneth after riches, and knoweth not that want shall come upon him." It is better to be rich in spiritual qualities than in gold. How often does one meet with gray-haired men who once were princely merchants or lordly planters, and who are now compelled to struggle hard for a scanty support. Poverty and riches are relative terms. I would not call a man who has a good position and lives in a well-furnished house, and is able to supply his family with the necessities and some of the luxuries of life, and is able to send his children to the public schools and provide them with books and papers, a poor man, though he may possess no real estate and have no income beyond what he earns. The man who has no income, no real estate, and cannot, either because of sickness or incompetency, supply himself and family with the necessities of life, is a poor man. These were the poor for whom no one cared in Christ's day, and to whom he preached the Gospel.

So far back as we can trace the life of man on earth we find that human existence here began in poverty, or, at least, in what is usually called poverty. All the advance that the race has made has resulted from the efforts of man to better his condition, supply his wants, secure his existence, and enlarge his comforts. The effort of the race to abolish poverty and drive away distress and misery has produced what we call civilization. There is no hope that poverty will ever cease to be in this world, for all cannot become rich, and the masses can never win emancipation from the worry and care of getting our daily bread. The poor will be here always.

The causes of poverty are many. One cause of poverty is found in the fact that too many people prefer the city to the country. In the beginning of the century most of the people lived in the country, and practiced self-denial. The growth of cities in the present century is without a parallel or precedent in any previous age of the world. This shows a change in the habits of the people of the present age, and especially in this country, which has brought with it a radical change in

all the social conditions of life. There is a limit somewhere to the city's capacity to receive, assimilate, and properly care for its population. When the city is overcrowded those who cannot get employment become discouraged, forsake the house of God, and naturally drift toward vice and poverty, as godlessness is always productive of poverty. In all communities where the Christian religion flourishes there is comparatively little poverty. Whenever the experiment of doing without religion has been tried it has proved a failure. All the progress that has been made in the deliverance of the race from the slavery of savagery and poverty has been accomplished by Christian doctrines and methods. We cannot doubt that we are vastly indebted to spiritual influences for the victories we have achieved and the blessings we enjoy. Those who dispute this are special pleaders, dealing in sophistry and investing superficial things with fundamental importance.

In the country people used to be happy in houses with unplastered walls and carpetless floors. They exchanged work with neighbors, and obtained most that they needed by trade; but in the city there is no getting along without money, and there is a poor chance to get money when there are vastly more laborers than there is work. There are millions of people who are objects of charity in the cities to-day who were, before they left their little patches of ground in the country, making a comfortable living. The rich are not to blame because these people moved to the cities.

Another cause of poverty is incompetency. There are some excellent people living in this world who came into it destitute of the elements of success. Many men seem to have no faith in themselves, no assertiveness, no independence, no pluck, and no push. They are not to blame, but they have not the ability to succeed, and they will have to be helped under any social system.

Another cause of poverty very prevalent in this country to-day is found in the discontented disposition of many young men who do not stay long in any place or work faithfully at any employment. They have no staying ability. Lacking in

perseverance, when they get a good position they soon give it up. The job that they have, they think, is not up to their ability. I have seen preachers afflicted with the same mental ailment. The appointment they serve is never big enough for them. They are all the time looking for something better.

Another cause of poverty is traceable to parental neglect. Much of the poverty that now exists in our cities is chargeable to parents who failed to teach their boys and girls some useful and honorable means of earning their living, either by a trade or other occupation. When children are allowed to grow up without any special training for any particular kind of work, and have to make a living by any kind of employment they can get, to-day one thing and to-morrow something else, they will always be poor. Many of them will become objects of charity, and have to be helped by public or private philanthropy, or by both.

Another fruitful cause of poverty is the appetite for intoxicating drink. The day has arrived when a man who drinks cannot be trusted with work or responsibility. The only employment there is for him is to march the other men who drink up to the polls on election day to cast the ballot for some unworthy politician. Rum is the greatest of all causes of poverty, and will continue to be as long as it is made and drank. When a man drinks to excess he loses his position and is unable to find another; and if he drinks at all he will drink to excess. Drinking produces idleness, and idleness leads to poverty. If men would quit patronizing the saloon the institution would not only perish for want of patrons, but poverty would rapidly disappear. There will always be great poverty as long as there are saloons; and as long as drinking men can perpetuate them by their votes they will be likely to stay.

Another cause of poverty is found in sin. Some men do not try to be anybody. They drink, and swear, and relate vulgar stories, and curse the parson, and damn the Church, and never read a good book or paper, but seek the companionship of men of like degrading tendencies. All this tends to poverty. The Church is the best friend the poor man has on earth.

Some say that our present social system is the cause of most of the poverty that exists in our cities. They say that there would be no poverty anywhere if the monopolization of the land by those who control it was prevented. They insist that the weak worker shall share equally with the stronger, and they regard the individual as an inseparable member of humanity, with a duty to his fellows which he cannot cast off. They hold that everyone born into the world is a debtor to society for all he can do, a creditor to society for all he needs. They propose that the surplus substance of the rich man shall be divided among the poor. But if a man has worked hard from early morning till late at night, and has succeeded in securing a competency for himself and family, or even has become wealthy, is it right to take his property from him by legislation or otherwise and give it, in part, to some shiftless, drinking, worthless man who had the same opportunities, in the beginning, with himself? The law of the strongest can be violently suspended, but it lies too deep in human nature to be destroyed. Nature is mightier than artificial theory. All efforts which contemplate bringing up indigent, dissipated, shiftless people to the level of thrifty, enterprising, moral, religious, well-to-do folks, by an application of revolutionary social methods, or the reversal of established governmental regulations, must necessarily prove abortive. The whole income of the country equally divided would give but a paltry income for each individual, and the total incomes under such a system would rapidly diminish, since there would be no longer any incentive to enterprising talents. Men undertake things in hope of gain; but under such a system the object of every man would be to get his share out of the public fund with as little labor as possible. Invention would cease with the inducement that stimulates it. The state would have no money to spend for the rich results that private wealth creates, and the result would be retrogression and decay; every art would decline, and men would be on a common level of poverty and semibarbarism. Every scheme for substituting state control for individual

enterprise would result in the enervation of all industries and in the apathy of the individual. It would stop the beating of the heart of our industrial system. Who can foretell what evils would befall us if we should ever fall into the grasp of this new social system?

In spite of all the poverty of our great cities, in spite of low wages and "sweating systems," and tenement houses, and children put to work as soon as they can talk, and much more brutality, the condition of the laboring people of this country is vastly superior to that of any other country in the world, and is gradually improving. Socialism can never abolish poverty. Poverty can never be abolished by money given in charity, seeing that charity creates rather than removes poverty. It can never be abolished by state control, because government property is always less productive than private enterprises. It can never be abolished by the government ownership of land, because that would not make the land more productive, but less. Our present system gives every man the opportunity of making all of himself that he is capable of making or wants to make. It furnishes him a good education at the expense of the well-to-do and the rich. It recognizes his abilities and gives him the opportunities to exercise them. The social evils existing in our country to-day are chargeable to the selfishness and depravity of the human heart, and not to our governmental system. The evil is in the man, and not in the system. Individualism is the surest guardian the world has ever had of liberty and great endeavor. Instead of self-reliance in the battles of life too many men carry their grievance to the state and seek its aid. The progress of a people was never carved out by a state, but was born of the courage, the ambition, the hard sense, and the perseverance of men. He is a false teacher who promises to correct all the grievances of the masses by legislation.

The trials of the poor can in no way be lessened by persuading them that they are the victims of oppression. All men do not have equal ability to accumulate property. It is the superior efficiency of one individual over another which

enables him to accumulate more wealth than others. No one denies that there are mean rich men who have no mercy and who have the disposition to reduce the laboring class to a condition worse than that of the colored race of the South before the Proclamation of Emancipation was issued; but it is wrong to say that all rich men belong to this class. Many of them have in no way borrowed, begged, or stolen from the poorer man. Instead of injuring the poor man, the rich man has been a blessing to him. He has given him a larger, better customer for his products; he has given him a neighbor who is able to help him in a pinch; he has given him an employer better able to pay good wages, and has stimulated the desire in the poor man to become rich also so that he may enjoy the rich man's superiorities. Many a poor man has been aroused from an apathetic indolence by the rich man and started on the road to success.

Poverty can never be abolished by charity. We shall always have beggars as long as able-bodied men can make a living by begging. When those who are able to work, and will not work, are refused help without investigation, begging by such people will soon cease. Free board and free lodging have encouraged voluntary mendicancy, and have done more harm than good. Sick people and families cannot be benefited by such provision, and no others are entitled to it. Able-bodied men and women should not be helped except through some public industry. Work is what such people need, not charity. People who are usually self-supporting and make the best effort they can, but who, through lack of work or unusual sickness, are reduced to an extremity from which they cannot deliver themselves, are entitled to sympathy and help. Relief in such cases should be prompt and adequate. There are many such people in every community. They make application for assistance only when compelled to do so by necessity. Such people can be saved by proper means, and will continue to be respectable members of society, but if neglected many of them will drift into intemperance and crime. It is right to help worthy unfortunate people over

a difficulty; but what such people need and what they want is not charity, but the opportunity to work and make their own living. The best charity in the world is to give a man a chance to support himself and his family. Worthy people are not trying to get something for nothing. All they ask is a chance to help themselves.

Our government is all right, but it has been too generous. The fact that we have allowed more people to come to this country than can find employment is not a proof of social injustice to them. Oversupply of labor makes competition between laborers so keen that the price of labor is lower than it should be, and selfish, greedy capitalists have taken advantage of it and have oppressed the poor. Our government is not to blame for the low price of labor, but the selfish capitalists who are willing to prosper at the expense of their less fortunate neighbors are to blame. We do not need any new social system, but we need more justice between man and man. We hear too much to-day about social and moral reforms. What we need as capitalists and laborers is salvation, and the disposition to practice the golden rule. Social reforms are too often started to turn one set of men out of office to make room for another set. There are some well-meaning but deceived men who are making it their business to scatter the seeds of discontent, and make the American laborer believe that he is the worst governed and most oppressed person on the face of the earth; but this is disproved by every census report, and by the experience of every community, as well as by every savings-bank report in every State of the Union. The truth is, this country is by far the most prosperous country in the world. I am fully persuaded that labor does not, as a rule, get as good wages as it should, but it gets more to-day than ever before, and man is worth more and capital less than at any other time in the history of mankind.

There is no country in the world in which wealth counts for so little as in the United States. The worthy capitalist who furnishes employment for people, and thus gives them the opportunity to support and educate their families, is more

of a public benefactor than is the man who attacks him merely because he has wealth. But the man who uses his capital for the purpose of crushing competition and securing the passage of laws favorable to himself is an unworthy member of society, and not a benefactor in the truest sense.

We are not yet entirely free from past barbarous views of life, but we are traveling slowly on the road to complete emancipation. A better day is coming in the evolution of the race, but false theories promulgated by men who believe that they are called to lead the laboring class out of industrial servitude to social freedom are not hastening that day. Poverty is dreadful, but it can only be abolished in part, and that must be by the practical workings of the golden rule. Christ preached the Gospel to the poor, believing that the only way to elevate them socially, intellectually, and physically was to first save their souls. You may expend all the money you please in charity to help the poor, and you may work all the theories the human mind can conceive, but they will fail to better the condition of the poor unless you can create in their hearts the desire to live a better and purer life in the sight of God and before the world. Human beings must be elevated from within first, before they can be elevated and helped from without. The way to abolish poverty is to create the conviction in the minds of the poor that labor is not a disgrace, and that economy is not a sign of weakness, but that sin is ruinous; that God must be served, and that sobriety and industry are essential to success in this world, and necessary to make preparation for the next. If poverty is the result of sin the removal of sin will abolish it. You show me an ordinary intelligent man, who is an honest, painstaking workman—a man who is trying to obey God and meet all his duties to his fellow-man—you show me a man of that description who is able to work and is not making a comfortable living, and I will show you ten thousand who are not making a living because they are incompetent and vicious. David says, "I have been young, and now am old; yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread." Few genuine

Christians in the United States are suffering for the necessities of life. Religion makes men prudent, economical, and industrious, and secures temporal comforts. It saves from sin, and sin is productive of poverty. How many beggars, to-day, have been genuine Christians from childhood on to the present? I doubt if one can be found. Criminals and beggars, as a rule, do not come out from Christian homes. Occasionally one may, but such instances are very rare. When Jesus preached the Gospel to the poor it was not for the purpose of simply saving their souls in heaven, but to prepare them for a successful career in the life that now is.

Many people in our large cities who are very poor, ignorant, and more or less vicious are often the descendants of a degenerate ancestry. They have been poured into this country by immigration during the past fifty years, and have filled our slums and tenement houses, our hospitals and asylums, almshouses and jails to overflowing. They cannot escape the results of their physical organization, which, in its turn, is an inherited result of ancestral degeneration. What social system is ever going to elevate them? There are fairly respectable poor men in every State in the Union who are furnishing recruits for this great army because, having been made to believe by revolutionary reformers that the present social system is entirely wrong, they have allowed themselves to become discouraged, and are soured at everything and everybody. They are out with the preachers and down on the churches, and have no use for anybody; and, what is worse, they have instilled into the minds of their children this poison, and have started them on the road to degeneration. They have been prejudiced against all the elevating forces in this world. What a pity! God save the people from pessimism!

There are some manifestations of selfishness in this country, however, which are horrible to contemplate. In all our great cities the evils of the "sweating system" are enough to make the blood of every true man and woman boil with indignation. Surely something can be done to free these lowly sons and daughters of toil from the merciless grasp of the

mercenary sweaters and improve their condition. The Christian people of the cities should root out this evil and exterminate it. We do not need a new kind of government in order to get rid of it, but a new heart in those who force men and women to work for starvation wages. Selfish human nature, if allowed to do so, will manifest itself under any system of government. The evil is located back of government, in the selfishness of human nature. We will get rid of our social ills when human nature is changed into the image of Christ, and not before. What we need in this country is better men and women. When the golden rule is practiced between man and man social evils will cease, and not before; for it is impossible to make bad men good men by legislation. The poor of one generation become the rich of the next. The only way for the poor of this generation to make the world a better place for their children to live in is to serve God themselves, set a godly example before their children, teach them to read the Bible, attend Sunday school, listen to the preaching of the Gospel, and show them the importance of submitting to the divine will in childhood, and of associating with good people. Jesus knew what the poor needed, hence he preached the Gospel to them. The way to save the rich of the future is to save the poor of the present; for the poor of to-day will be the rich of to-morrow. If we neglect to bring the poor of to-day to Christ neither the poor nor rich of to-morrow will be his servants. We may talk reform all we please, but if we allow the faith of the people in God and the Church to be destroyed the world will grow worse and worse until no new social system or change of administration can possibly save us as a nation. The only way to have a better government is to have better people; and the only way to have better people is to bring them under the power of Jesus Christ. In the Gospel is our only hope.

E. B. Randle.

ART. VII.—A NEW COSMIC SONG.

FOR nearly a century America has striven to find an adequate expression for herself in literature. Irving, Cooper, Emerson, Hawthorne, and Whitman have each contributed a note. Yet America remains largely unexpressed, and her eyes are still to the future in the world of letters as in every other phase of her activity. Mr. Mabie in his recent lectures at the Johns Hopkins University uttered a prophecy of hope as to our nation's literary future. He pointed out the widely prevalent talent of expression in both verse and prose, the strong independent nationality, and the growth of an American audience eager for literature. All of these are signs of our times. They promise a large achievement. May we not look for it within our own generation? Are our poets even now in their skillful minor work preluding a symphonic movement?

The appearance of such a poem as "Christus Victor," by Dr. Henry N. Dodge, is a kind of first fruits of this promise. Here at last is a singer with an adequate musical power who has abandoned trivial attempts. He has left the fleeting loveliness or the semiphilosophic pathos of the short poetry of to-day. In its stead he has essayed a cosmic theme. He would include all human life in his survey. He would study the greatest and most vital human problems. And he has made the largest-minded attempt in either American or English poetry in the last score of years. Like Emerson and Whitman, he has studied the ultimate realities of life, though in a very different spirit, and has endeavored to find the rationale of man's universe.

From this study of life he has come back filled with an optimism based on his faith in love. Too many in our day are driven back to skepticism as they face the world problems. Is evil really transient, or will it triumph? Does God rule man, or is life merely an undirected struggle for existence? Can we hold faith in the face of the awful crimes, individual

and national, which are committed every day? The answer has not infrequently been negative. In fact, not a little of the poetry of the present day has thrilled with a pathetic minor chord of hopelessness. The poet has failed to see the transience of evil and the permanence of good; he has wailed the destruction of his ideals, or has sung, "Eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow we die." The advent of a singer who can face all the problems involved in the bad and good of life and who is still buoyed with hope and reverent faith is a noteworthy fact in our American life. He comes back with faith in the possibilities of man, in the immortality of the soul, in the loving omnipotence of God.

Science, with its emphasis on brute forces, has stilled many a nineteenth century singer, and scientific speculation has darkened the hope of many a modern song. The "conflict of science and religion" has become trite and commonplace. Our poet, however, faces science boldly. In its assimilation of scientific truth to the passion of poetry, "Christus Victor" is a worthy successor to the work of Tennyson and Browning. Dr. Dodge is a physician with a thorough scientific training. Minute anatomical knowledge has risen into passionate poetry in several of the earlier sections of this work. Science has lost no fact, but imagination has found a song behind the fact. For example, this marvel of our human frame has a meaning to the poet beyond the ken of the anatomist:

Before such lavish beauty of design
I stand in awe, and contemplate the throng
Of earth's unnumbered children, each one made
With skill so wonderful. Here we behold
The culmination of a mighty plan;
Each step advancing from the lower depths
Of reptile life displays a clearer mark
Of nearer likeness to creation's head.

In a like manner, the scientific truth of the constant waste and repair of the body also acquires poetic meaning:

How dreamlike and unstable is the form
That wraps the spirit in its earthly veil!
In ceaseless flight, the winged atoms haste
From earth and sea and air—a rescuing host—

To build anew this fast-dissolving frame
That with each movement, with each thought, casts off
The perished cells which die that we may live.

We feel faint stirrings of immortal youth,
And start with wonder at our fading flesh.

But beyond this occasional use of the special scientific data of his own profession the poet displays evidence of a wider scientific knowledge, a knowledge of the vast cosmic designs set forth in the various theories as to our material universe. Such sections as the thirty-third and the one-hundred-and-seventeenth sweep the broadest horizons of scientific synthesis. Science has evidently been a solid foundation for the feet before the soul took flight into the higher air.

But "Christus Victor" is primarily a religious poem, and is indeed representative of the most liberal Christian thought of the present day. For here in America, behind all the activity of our material civilization, behind its cynicism and self-pleasing, which are oftentimes far too apparent, behind our assertive arrogance of intellect, there is ever a deep religious sentiment. It is found in all denominations, and among thousands of serious-minded men beyond the pale of denominations. It sees deep below the conventional limitations set to the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man by our formal creeds. It stands in a spirit of reverence before the unexplored infinities which lie around human life. It recognizes alike human possibilities and human limitations. Life has become more significant in the light of this broader Christian thought. "Christus Victor" represents this phase of present-day America—America searching the universe for ultimate foundations of belief. America needs such voice. She is happier that the voice is hopeful, and that the song rises to cheer mankind. The poet, moreover, mounts above dogmatism and sectarianism into wide catholicity of view. He is reverent, not blatant; tolerant, not bigoted. Not since "In Memoriam" and "The Death in the Desert" have religious thought and passion found such adequate expression in English verse. And without losing in breadth of

vision the "Christus Victor" has become more hopeful than the former, and simpler than the latter.

Nor with all its weight of thought does the work often lose the true method of poetry. In the middle of the poem, however, argumentation dims the light of inspiration. The theologian overcomes the poet, and the power wanes. Arguments are for theology and philosophy, passion is the essence of poetry. In "Christus Victor," generally, as in "In Memoriam," arguments are secondary, and the passion of faith and hope which springs out of the intellectual assurance that arguments give is primary. The author advances no new grounds for his faith. He, the rather, translates the prevalent thought of his times into the terms of passion. But this is all that even the greatest poets have done. Now, such passion in the face of the darkest problems and of man's deepest thought is the possession of all great religious teachers. It is present in power throughout the "Christus Victor." Nor is it a traditionary enthusiasm copied from other books, but a passion which thrills the highest souls of the current world of Christian thought. This passion in the poet, however, modulated by a tenderness and reverence which add charm and power to the poem.

Love is the keynote of the song. It is the key to all his philosophy. The Father-love of God and the brother-love of man will bring harmony out of all the discord of sin and pain. The poet's purpose is

The triumph of Almighty Love to sing.
Ah, Love, and Love alone, at last will solve
All the vast threatening questions that distract mankind,

Think not that Love is feeble or supine,
Or yields to wrong or would at ease recline;
Love is no sickly dotard, bent with years,
No blushing maiden melting into tears.

Love is a mighty passion and a flame
No force can overpower, no conquest tame;
Love is all-strong to knit us man to man;
Ah, when will earth consent to heaven's plan?

Unlike aught else in earth or sea or sky
 Love must itself impart or wilt and die;
 Love grows by giving and is not content
 Unless for its beloved it is spent.

Love is an angel whose awakening light
 Can rouse the darkest soul, sunk deep in night;
 Sent to refresh mankind so long oppressed,
 Love yet shall light the world, for Love is best.

The poet rests with calm faith in love's all-conquering power. Is there wrong done by man to man? Brother-love will yet heal all. Are war and rapine the law of international relations? The universal brotherhood will at last prove itself a potent reality. Are viciousness and selfishness marring the glory of man's princely nature? Divine love and mercy will stoop to save, not to destroy. The poet holds fast to a divine love to the uttermost. Nor does he attempt to prove love. It is axiomatic spiritual truth to him. Thence grows his confident faith. The white light of love illuminates the whole world for the singer.

The pæan of immortality also is ever present throughout the "Christus Victor." Like Browning, the author feels the necessity of a future life to deploy the unused and unfulfilled energies of this. A loving Father will not leave us in such incompleteness. One fact after another lends assurance to this faith; yet, as in Tennyson, the assurance is based on intuition rather than reason:

O heart, thine intuition trust,
 Dream on of greater things to be;
 Thou feelest thou art more than dust,
 And thou wouldst know thy destiny.

Exquisitely wrought analogies illustrative of this great truth stud the poem like precious jewels. Through them the hope becomes brighter and brighter to a perfect triumph of assurance in immortality. Yet this was not the triumph of a thoughtless optimist; like all great faith, it had begun in struggle and fear:

Spent as a wounded bird,
 Fallen afield unheard,
 My voice was mute.

Silent and hurt I lay,
While breathed afar all day
Spring's mellow flute.

Within me struggled long
Faint hope and dream of song,
My heart was dumb.

Slow came each tuneless day,
Went its mysterious way,
And I lay dumb.

From out this chill reign of doubt he emerged into faith:

Nay, cheer the heart, for even now
Where from the stem dead leaves are torn,
Lo, autumn buds of spring are born;
And hope is writ on every bough.

Though wintry dirges round me wall,
I hear the swaying branches sing,
I hear faint murmurs of the spring;
These buds will wake and life prevail.

Passing on from this assurance of the future life, the poet sings his prophecy as to the nature of that life. Tennyson in a few sections of his great elegy has touched on this with saddened heart, fearing lest the life after death might cause separation between himself and his friend. In "Christus Victor," however, heaven is presented as the consummation of the most glorious moral idealism, the fruition of man's purest and noblest wishes:

Ah, not in slothful ease shall we recline
And dream away our new existence sweet;
The dream is past, and life, more life is ours!
With ever new desire shall we ascend
Those paths that climb o'er glorious heights to Him
Whose beckoning hand forever leads the way.
No dreary days of care, no nights of pain,
No swiftly flying years that drag us on
With cruel haste to meet the dreaded end—
The end is past, and time shall be no more!
No more our little boats we daily launch
To creep in fear along our native shore,
But out upon the boundless ocean sail,
Free to explore the wonders of the deep.

Into that life beyond the grave will be gathered all the sons of men brought at last into harmony with the Father, there to deplore their energies in nobler duties. Nay, the poet's faith would advance beyond even that. All life is sacred. Even the dumb life of plant and animal may yet be included in "some far-reaching plan of life, some vast and wonderful design, embracing all creation:"

Methinks the tide of life that flows from God
Will strew no useless wreckage on the strand,
Nor leave a periwinkle perishing for food
In any inlet where it once has poured its flood;
But rolling on with mighty surges vast—
Life sprung from God, too vital to be lost
In dark oblivion or to chaos tost—
Will somehow bless all creatures at the last
Through evolutions infinitely grand.

It is against the universal inclusiveness of this heaven, rather than against its nature, that dogmatic denial will be made by many Christians. Dr. Dodge, however, is firmly convinced of the all-saving love of God. It is the one phrase of his theme in which he loses the inspiration of poetry in the earnestness of argument. Yet there is abundance of lyric passion also. Man's wickedness cannot daunt the poet's faith in the universal saving love of the Father. Like Tennyson he trusts that

Somehow good
Will be the general goal of ill—
That nothing walks with aimless feet;
That not one life shall be destroyed,
Or cast as rubbish to the void
When God hath made the pile complete.

Like Browning, his

Hope is a sun will pierce
The thickest cloud earth ever stretched—
That what began bad can't end worst,
Nor what God blessed once prove accurst.

But what appears in the two great Victorian poets as mere yearning is glad faith in "Christus Victor." All theologies to the contrary, he sings his faith:

Ah, not till his last child has entered in—
The last, lone, weary soul from the dead earth
Will God our Father bid you, portals fair,
Upon your golden hinges joyful swing;
To sin and sorrow shut, to night and death.

Ah, never sank a sinning soul so low
But God's paternal hand could deeper go
His perishing child to save.

Though shipwrecked by sin's overwhelming weight,
God's hand has rescued from as hard a fate
Some other castaway.

How shall I set a limit to his grace,
How dare I cloud the glory of his face?

Abide his time; have faith through weary days
That at the last each soul shall sing his praise
Who molds the hearts of men.

Again this faith in the all-saving Fatherhood breaks forth:

Though man forgot from whence he came,
Or with neglect his birthright scorn,
He cannot change his rank or name,
For he a child of God was born;
Of royal lineage he, and princely birth:
His Father is the Lord of Heaven and Earth.

Naught, naught the mighty bond can break
That binds the Father to his child,
Nor Death nor Hell his purpose shake,
Though vast their storm and wreckage wild;
Man is of royal lineage and birth:
His Father is the Lord of Heaven and Earth.

The Lord of Life, who brought him forth,
Undaunted by the sin of man,
Ingratitude and folly's froth,
In triumph will fulfill his plan;
We are of royal lineage and birth,
Sons of the Sovereign Lord of Heaven and Earth!

This belief runs counter to our creeds. It reads the gospel of God's Fatherhood and of Christ's self-sacrificial love with a world-wide generosity. Will not even those who honestly dissent sympathize with the tender passion for man which so evidently inspired the faith of the poet?

"Christus Victor" is likewise the expression of the brother love among men here in this present life. Some of these strains remind us of Burns, but they are more evidently the work of a thoughtful student of life, who has been pained to see how selfishness has often torn asunder this bond of brotherhood. He sees the awful degradation of humanity in our great slums, its cruel greed in trade, its outbreakings into the demonism of recent wars. Yet the passion of brotherly love can inspire a faith overcoming all this. The worst evils of human life will yet be healed by "the brotherhood of man, the federation of the world." This earnest Christian brotherhood finds many beautiful forms of expression in the poem:

What man soe'er I chance to see—
Amazing thought—is kin to me,
And if a man, my brother.

What though in silken raiment fine
His form be clad, while naked mine;
And if a man, my brother.

What though he sit in royal state
And for an empire legislate;
He is a man, my brother.

What though of strange and alien race,
Of unfamiliar form and face;
He is a man, my brother.

What though his hand be hard with toil,
And labor his worn garments soil;
He is a man, my brother.

What though his hand with crime be red,
His heart a stone, his conscience dead;
He is a man, my brother.

And when we pass upon the street,
It is my brother that I meet;
Alas, alas, my brother!

Though dimly there that image shine,
It marks the soul a thing divine,
A child of God, my brother.

Though deep the abyss with darkness lower,
'Tis but the measure of his power
Who thence will raise my brother.

A Saviour to the uttermost,
He will not see his brother lost,
Nigh ruined, yet his brother.

Growing from this loving sense of brotherhood is the obligation of fraternal duty, which is also wrought into song:

Suppose a kindly word of mine
Could lift the clouds and bring sunshine;
Am I my brother's keeper?

Suppose the weary worker toils,
For scanty pittance delves and moils;
Am I my brother's keeper?

Suppose in penury and fear
My neighbor see the wolf draw near;
Am I my brother's keeper?

Suppose beneath the tyrant's heel,
Some distant nation anguish feel;
Am I my brother's keeper?

Perhaps—who knows?—perhaps I'm not!
Self-centered soul, hast thou forgot
The marvel of our common lot,
The mystic tie that binds us all
Who dwell on this terrestrial ball,
Stupendous hope of time and song,
The bourn for which the ages long?
How hard our hearts must seem to Thee,
Exhaustless Fount of Charity!

This faith in brotherhood lends strength to his enthusiasm for the divine gift of freedom. He sings a strenuous praise of liberty, and summons to duty the lovers of freedom. He calls to America to live up to her proud birthright of liberty. She is appointed to emancipate man from tyranny. Her destiny is to liberate the world. In this passion he greets our country:

Nourished by Freedom here
Shall a new race appear,
From many, one;

Beneath her ample shield,
Upon this widespread field,
Shall ancient strifes be healed,
New life begun.

Here will the Lord make plain
Things men have sought in vain
Since time's first morn;
Called forth by Freedom's might
Here first shall see the light
Vast powers for man and right,
As yet unborn.

For her, too, he chants :

In the Titanic struggle yet to be
When right and light and human liberty
With powers of greed and tyranný engage
In mortal combat, final war to wage—
A world-wide struggle coming on apace
In many a waking land and longing race—
My country, do thou make a valiant fight
And for the people's cause put forth thy might,
And may the Lord of Hosts who made thee free
Make thee, great guardian of liberty,
To lead the nations, marching in the van,
The fearless champion of the rights of man;
Arm thee with light, and with immortal fire
Thine altars keep aflame, thy heart inspire,
Lest commonweal be counted little worth,
And Freedom, throttled, perish from the earth!

The poet has mounted high above the current supineness of skepticism as to the more ideal patriotic enthusiasms of America. Faith in America rings clear.

For all the lofty idealism of the poem Jesus Christ is the fountain head. The poet's theme is Christ, the Victor—victor over sin and death. In earnest devotion he prostrates himself before the Son of man, offering him his tribute of love and praise. From him came the assurance of immortal life; through him was revealed the Father-love of God; because of him the light of liberty ameliorated human life. In Christ is the answer to all the poet's doubts and the culmination of all his hopes. So the poem ever returns to the lyric note of wor-

ship. No poet has wrought more lovingly his tribute to him who is Master and Saviour of us all.

Hail Victor, Firstborn from the dead!
Open our eyes to see thy radiant face;
Make us to feel thy presence, know thy grace,
From glory unto glory led.

Bring to our darkened minds new light,
Diffuse thy quickening radiance far and near;
Vanquish the might of sin, dispel our fear,
And let thy day o'erwhelm our night.

Wake our dull souls from drowsy sleep,
Let us not here be fully satisfied;
Help us to use with thee to worlds untried,
Lead thou the way and near us keep!

The poem culminates in that wonderful chant of his passion and death, a chant that touches the very high-water mark of religious song.

Only at far-distant intervals have our poets attempted songs of such cosmic scope. America will yet be proud of this voice now added to her chorus of song. The work has been greeted with "faint praise" as yet. But we may quote from a letter of Sidney Lanier: "Many critics have seemed to be forever conciliating the yet unrisen ghosts of possible mistakes." May such timid reserve be cast aside in a glad receiving of his inspiration and in thankful participation in his faith.

Chas. W. Hodell

ART. VIII.—INSPIRATION NOT INVALIDATED BY
BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

THE validity of the biblical doctrine of divine inspiration is inseparable from the following considerations :

1. Divine inspiration, when claimed by a teacher, serves as a guarantee of the validity of his precepts and the trustworthiness of his statement of facts.

2. It is attributed only to the original authors of Scripture as such.

3. The fact, and not the mode, of divine inspiration is important.

4. The truths of duty and destiny have been presented by the inspired authors in a legitimate and adequate literary setting.

5. The modern scholar is not competent to reconstruct the canon or to mutilate any of its books.

6. Divine inspiration, as a biblical fact, is not disturbed by discrepancies between the Bible and other ancient records.

7. Discrepancies between the books of the canon itself do not invalidate the divine inspiration of the authors of those books.

8. The divine inspiration of the biblical authors is abundantly attested by miracles, prophecy and its fulfillment, and by the character of results realized from their ethical and religious precepts.

In discussing the foregoing considerations we shall find the biblical doctrine of divine inspiration is not invalidated by its critics. The authority of the Scripture, in ethics and religion, is closely related to the question of the divine inspiration of its authors. But the value of the Bible in matters of faith and duty would remain unimpaired, even though the dogma of inspiration were unknown or should be discarded. The laws of human duty contained in the word of God are just and true, irrespective of all questions of their origin or manner of promulgation. The dogma of inspiration does not give them their force or value. They have intrinsic value, for they are founded in truth. While a divine origin, attributed to a

precept, may serve as a recommendation, inducing individuals to try the experiment of observing its requirements, yet, when properly tested, the precepts of Scripture always recommend themselves.

1. The trustworthiness of Scripture in questions of history and natural science is also intimately related to the doctrine of divine inspiration. Whatever the character of the truth which the inspired writer aims to teach, whether ethical and religious or historical and scientific, we shall find that divine inspiration is a guarantee of its validity. We may now inquire, What is the aim of the inspired writer? It clearly is not to teach history and natural science as such, but is to teach ethical and religious truth. But while this is the aim of the inspired writers we find certain facts of history and natural science are necessarily involved in vital connection with the ethical and religious truths taught. Now while Scripture does not assume to be a text-book in matters outside the ethical and religious sphere, still its references to questions of history and natural science are certainly trustworthy, for where *facts* of history or science are involved in vital connection with the system of ethical and religious truth taught, divine inspiration is a guarantee that *facts* have been given. The historical portions of Scripture are in some instances vitally connected with the plan of salvation in Christ. Only a divinely inspired mind could give the world an accurately authentic narration of the great events of the past. There have been many historians, but among them is wide divergence of opinion on many essential points. If we had the work of an inspired historian we would expect it to agree in the main with that of the uninspired historians, and yet to differ from it in some particulars. The historical portions of the Bible are being found in remarkable agreement with the ancient records found in Bible lands. We would not look for agreement in all points, for the inspired writer, in compiling his materials, would sift the false from the true. If, therefore, the monuments do not agree in some instances with the biblical record we are at liberty to reject the testimony of the monuments, for the inspired writer rejected it before us. As a writer of history the inspired

writer was like other historians. He was at liberty to gather the materials for his work wherever he could find them. Some facts were doubtless of human origin, while others may have been made known to him from God. His only concern, however, was that they should be facts. His power of discernment was a gift of the Holy Spirit. The inspired writer was also a higher critic. His human powers were used in cooperation with the divine. He gathered his materials from existing literature in keeping with the rules and principles of criticism appropriate to his own age, and in addition to this he was assisted by the Holy Spirit. His work was therefore of the highest authority.

2. The original authors of Scripture, as Scripture, were under divine inspiration. The reality of their inspiration cannot be questioned any more than can the other facts recorded, for both alike are matters of record. But divine inspiration cannot be claimed for the thousands of copyists who have transcribed the Scriptures from age to age. It must not be supposed the Scriptures have been miraculously preserved from corruption by the Holy Spirit during all the ages, for, having given important truth to mankind in a self-consistent historical and literary setting, God left its care and preservation to human resources.

3. We must not suppose God confined himself to any particular mode of inspiration. "No prophecy ever came by the will of man, but men spake from God, being moved by the Holy Ghost." Just how the Holy Ghost moved men to speak is not important. The *fact* and not the *mode* of inspiration is of importance.

4. The truths of duty and destiny have been presented by the sacred authors in a legitimate and adequate literary setting. With reference to the mode of divine inspiration we are not specially concerned. It is interesting to note, however, that ethical and religious truth taught in the Scriptures are embodied in a literary setting composed of history, prophecy, poetry, and law, and are interwoven in metaphor, simile, trope, allegory, parable, hyperbole, enigma, and other figures of speech. The only question to be raised here is this, Is the literature of the Bible legitimate and adequate as a medium

for conveying such important truths to mankind? The literary usage of all ages certainly proves it is both legitimate and adequate. God is therefore justified in giving us just such a Bible as he has given us.

5. The modern scholar is not competent to reconstruct the canon or to mutilate any of its books. The work of the authors of those books is of the highest authority. The higher critic of to-day is no more competent to reconstruct or demolish the work of the higher critic of three thousand years ago than will be the higher critic three thousand years hence to demolish the work of present-day scholars. As the disciples were admonished by the Lord to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees, so must we beware of the conceit of the modern scholar. The higher critic of the "destructive" class has a contention with the inspired writers themselves, and also with the men who collected their writings into the canon. He is not competent, however, to demolish the work of the former or to reconstruct the work of the latter. The sacred canon was formed by men who were acquainted with the books themselves, and also with facts of written and unwritten history which supported the claims of those books to a place in the canon. We have the books, but many of these facts have been lost to us. The scholar of to-day cannot possibly know as much about the trustworthiness of the respective books, or their claims to a place in the canon, as did the scholars who placed them there; hence the scholar of to-day is not competent to change the canon or to mutilate it by rejecting the unmistakable interpretation of those parts which support facts distasteful to him. But this is the course pursued by the "destructive" higher critic, for he rejects all interpretations of its language and eliminates all portions of it which give support to distasteful facts; and he undermines the credibility of the Scripture by denying the most apparent facts of its age and authorship. He assails the Bible itself. No man can thus rend asunder the Bible itself, and at the same time lay claim to the name Christian. The books of the canon may not be thus torn to pieces and rejected in part. The canon may be either accepted or rejected, but it may not be openly or covertly mutilated.

6. The divine inspiration of the authors of the Scripture is not invalidated by discrepancies between the Bible and other ancient records. As a body of history the authenticity of the Scripture is supported by all the confirming testimony of the ancient monuments, while the contradictory testimony of the monuments may be explained in either of two ways: It may have been matter previously rejected by the inspired writer himself, or the discrepancy may be due not to an error in the testimony of the monument, but to the mistake of a copyist in transcribing the biblical record. But owing to the jealous national spirit of the Hebrews, and their genius for religious things, it is probable that very few errors of any importance were ever made in all the work of transcribing their sacred books. It is highly probable, too, owing to this jealous care of the Hebrews for their holy institutions and sacred history, that all discrepancies between the Scriptures and the other ancient records are due to the previous rejection of those ancient records by the inspired writers as false. So far, then, as the contradictory testimony of the monuments is concerned our copy of the Holy Scriptures, the work of uninspired copyists, possesses the same authority as the original.

7. Discrepancies between the various books of the Bible, or between different versions of the Bible, do not invalidate the divine inspiration of the authors of those books. All these supposed contradictions seem capable of explanation. To one class belong such instances of discrepancy as that found in First Chronicles and in Second Samuel, where a difference appears in the name of the owner of the thrashing floor, and in the kind and sum of money David paid him for it when Israel was numbered. Here the difference is only an apparent difference. The writers simply employed different but equivalent terms in describing the transaction. To another class belong such instances as that found in Genesis vi and vii, where Noah was instructed in gathering the animals into the ark. These instructions are fragmentary, but as a whole are quite complete, and taken together are not contradictory. In another class may be placed such cases as the discrepancy found in the genealogies of Christ. Different phases are pre-

sented of the same subject. One of these genealogies presents the natural and the other the legal pedigree of Jesus. Our ignorance of the written and unwritten customs of the ancient Hebrews tends to foster doubts or suspicions concerning their ancient records, which would be found groundless had we fuller knowledge of those customs. Other cases may be explained as being statements of similar, but not identical, incidents. Some discrepancies have originated in the variety of names applied to a person or place, or in the different methods of reckoning times and seasons, or in different local and historical standpoints, or in the custom of expressing numbers by letters—several of which closely resemble each other, and also in changes in the use and meaning of terms. Such discrepancies do not invalidate the authority of the Scriptures or the divine inspiration of their authors. We may now inquire, Does our copy of the Scriptures—the work of uninspired copyists—possess the same authority in ethics and religion as the original? It certainly does, unless it can be shown that the Scriptures have undergone some fundamental changes which affect those doctrines. The burden of proof in this matter of course rests upon the critics. Discrepancies between the books, or between different versions of the Scripture, might affect its ethical and religious teachings. An illustration of this may be seen in 1 Thess. v, 23, where “sanctify you whole,” as it occurs in the Greek, has been translated “sanctify you wholly” in the English. The Greek adjective “whole” has been changed in the English version to the adverb “wholly”—an unwarranted though explainable change. In addition, then, to the causes of discrepancy previously mentioned, which might possibly affect history or doctrine, may be mentioned the traditional beliefs of the translators of Scripture from one language to another. The Old Testament was not exposed so much to this danger as the New Testament, for the formulation of theological doctrines belongs to the later times. Such errors and dangers may be obviated by reference to the Scriptures in the original tongues. Revelation of ethical and religious truth has been progressive, and has its culmination in the life and teachings of Jesus Christ. We may safely and confidently affirm not one fun-

damental fact or principle of the Holy Scripture has been lost or corrupted by any error which has ever been discovered in it.

8. Christianity purports to be of divine origin. Its ethical and religious ideals transcend all those which purport to be of purely human origin. They transcend all conceptions and ideals of other sacred systems which purport to be of supernatural origin. It is undeniable that an otherwise fallible man may become infallible by the inspiring aid of the Holy Spirit. The reality of his divine inspiration and of his infallibility must be adequately attested. The claims of the biblical authors to divine inspiration have been attested by miracle, by prophecy and its fulfillment, and by the character of results realized from their ethical and religious precepts. Christianity appeals at once to the most enlightened conscience and common sense. It gives to the world the highest type of personal character, of society, and of the home. All this seems a sufficient guarantee to any honest seeker after truth that we have the fundamental teachings and facts of divine revelation substantially as they came from God. Moreover, the ethical and religious teachings of the word of God are daily confirmed as true and trustworthy in Christian experience, thus illustrating the validity of the sacred authors' claims to divine inspiration. With the doctrine of divine inspiration thus supported and confirmed the critics may cavil, but devout minds need not be disturbed.

Gro H Bennett.

ART. IX.—APOTHEOSIS AMONG THE ANCIENTS.

THE object of the present paper is twofold: to throw some light upon one phase of the religions of the past, and to examine in this light three events in New Testament history—the attitude of mind of Pilate to Christ, of the inhabitants of Lystra to Paul, and of Cornelius to Peter.

The particular phenomenon referred to is the attribution of divine honors to fellow-mortals, a form of worship which, though abounding in antiquity, is repugnant to the modern enlightened mind, a profanation abhorrent to our stricter principles and ideas. The persons referred to, Pilate, the Lystrans, and Cornelius—were all, no doubt, influenced in their actions by not only the traditions coming down to them from the past, but also by the practices in vogue in their own day and country. It is therefore pertinent to our inquiry to determine more definitely what this past meant to them, and to study their environment. As preparatory to the study of the phenomena under consideration we must divest ourselves of all modern conceptions of the Deity and his attributes and enter into sympathetic relations with this side of the religious life and worship of the ancients. This furnishes the proper perspective; to apply the standards of the present century to the feelings and customs of people who lived many ages ago is manifestly unfair. To the modern mind they are seen through a dense, if not opaque, medium; to the ancient mind they are natural and intelligible. Having “oriented” ourselves, we shall consider *Where*, *When*, and *How* this custom originated, and treat our subject under three heads, *Before*, *During*, and *After* the Augustan Age.

I. BEFORE THE AUGUSTAN AGE.

Here the questions, *Where*, and especially *When*, did this custom originate, are difficult to answer. In regard to the first question, there seems to be practical agreement among authorities. Otto Hirschfeld* and Friedländer† assign its origin to the Egyptians and Persians (though the latter places

* Otto Hirschfeld: *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1888, p. 833.

† Friedländer: *Sitten Gesch.*, iii, p. 647.

the Persians first in order), while Meyer* places first in his list the Assyrians. The date for the origin of the custom is beset with difficulty, but it unquestionably reached back to a remote antiquity. The only authority to give a date, as far as I know, is Charles A. S. Davis, in *The Book of the Dead*, who says that in Egypt it was as early as the fifth dynasty that the Pharaohs claimed to be incarnations of the god Ra, the supreme god, the creator of the world. There had been some dispute regarding the date of the fifth dynasty, but if it is, as some scholars maintain, to be placed about 3000 B. C., we see how far back in antiquity we must place the starting point; and, if Meyer's view is correct, it even antedates this. As for the nations of the Orient, we know that it was a custom reaching far back into the past to pay divine honors to their kings indiscriminately, not compelling them, as did some nations, to wait until after death for the opportunity of enjoying divine honors. In India the custom goes back to a remote age. Edward W. Hopkins, in his work on *The Religions of India*, informs us that after the Hindus conquered India the priests were considered gods. It was part of the creed of Jainism, which is said to have originated about 700 B. C., to deny God, but worship man. In Greece the practice prevailed from the earliest times. Here we meet the *ἡμίθεοι*, or demigods, who in some cases were of divine, in others of human, origin. Hero worship was common, and mythology abounds with instances of mortals who were deified and worshiped. One of the earliest instances is that of Leukothea, the daughter of Cadmus, who was worshiped after death as a sea-goddess.† The worship of heroes and of the dead, according to Roscher,‡ first arose among the Ætolians and Dorians. The Spartan lawgiver Lycurgus was greeted as a god by the Delphic Oracle,§ and Plutarch says that there was a temple at Sparta in which he was worshiped as a god.|| Another Spartan lawgiver, Lysander (about 405 B. C.), was the first of the Greeks, according to Plutarch and Pausanias, to receive

* Meyer: *Konversation Lexikon*, s. v. "Apotheosis."

† Compare Homer, *Odyssey*, v, 333 et seq., and Cic., *Tusc.*, i, 22.

‡ Compare Roscher, *Lex. d. Gr. u. Röm. Myth.*, s. v. "Heros."

§ Compare Herodotus, i, 65.

|| Compare Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 31.

divine honors while still living.* We read that the Greeks erected altars to his worship, offered sacrifices to him, and sang hymns to his honor. Then followed Brasidas, Agesilaus, and Philip II of Macedon, all of whom were the recipients of divine honors. Boeckh † explains this as a revival of the view prevailing during the Heroic Age, that the kings were sprung from Zeus, ‡ and is an extension of hero worship. Parallel to this belief in the divine origin of kings is a similar belief of some nations of more modern times, the Saxon, Danish, Norwegian, and Spanish, who believed that their kings sprang from Odin. Alexander the Great seems to be the second of the Greeks to receive divine honors during his lifetime. He was worshiped by the Egyptians and Persians as well, and looked with great favor upon all comparisons of himself with the god Dionysus. § The third, Demetrius Poliorketes (about 311 B. C.), was worshiped in Athens itself as *ὁ σωτήρ*, the saviour, and enrolled among the tutelary deities of that city. About a century later we find Greece following the lead of the people of Asia Minor in paying divine honor to their rulers, as, for example, to Flaminius, Sulla, and Lucullus. ¶ But the Seleucidæ and Ptolemies broke all records in their claims and in the extravagant honors which they received. In their reign apotheosis reached its apogee. During the last years of the republic the Greeks in Southern Italy worshiped the Roman proconsuls. Later in Athens and Sparta, and especially in Corinth, altars and temples were erected to the worship of Cæsar and Augustus. An inscription at Ephesus represents Cæsar as "a god visible and the common saviour of mankind." ¶¶ At this time many men were deified.** How

* St. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei.*, xviii, 19, it may be noted, mentions Codrus receiving honors: "et hunc Athenienses tanquam deum sacrificiorum honore coluerunt." However, he fails to say whether this was during his life or after his death. If this Codrus was the king of Athens, who according to tradition flourished 1068 B. C., he would be among the earliest to receive divine honors.

† Compare Boeckh, *Encycl.*, ii. *Meth.* 3, p. 438.

‡ Homer, as is well known, considered Minos to be of divine parentage. This view receives a peculiar interest at the present time from the fact that recent excavations have brought to light the palace of Minos, king of Crete, who lived four thousand years or more ago.

§ Compare Droysen, *Hellenismus*, i, 2, 230.

¶ Compare Otto Hirschfeld, *Sitzber. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1888, p. 835. This worship was frequently associated with the worship of the goddess *Dea Roma*.

¶¶ Compare C. I. G., 2867. ** Compare *Cic. ad Quint. Fr.* i, 7; *Suet.*, *Aug.* 52.

wide was the scope of this all personifying faith of the ancients may be seen from a statement of Prodicus: "The ancients deified everything which was of use to man."* Before concluding this section it should be noted that the fact that so many Romans had been worshiped as gods in the provinces could not but have prepared the way for the worship of the emperors in Rome.

The Romans were remarkable for their religiosity. What nation can boast of more gods? Cicero says,† "Numerus deorum innumerabilis." According to Prudentius,‡ "Whatever the earth, whatever the sea brings forth, that they called a god." Is it any wonder that Petronius wittily says of his time,§ "Our land is so full of divinities that it is easier to find a god than a man in Rome." With such a wealth of gods, and with such a cosmopolitan population, the worship of human beings, when once fairly started, grew rapidly. This start was with Caius Julius Cæsar, for one need hardly take into account the deification of the mythical Romulus. | Cicero, the leading theologian of his time, would not allow the people of Southern Italy to pay him divine honors during his lifetime. Apotheosis among the Romans practically began with Cæsar, the man of universal genius, a man so great that ¶ with his worship apotheosis becomes firmly established in Rome. From the Roman point of view, which looked solely at greatness of intellect and greatness of power and excluded moral considerations, it may be stated if any of the Romans merited deification, that man was Cæsar.** His worship in Rome was established in this way: an altar was erected in the market place, a temple was erected here to his worship, and a college of priests organized to have charge of it. The Senate itself passed a decree requiring the worship of the new god,

* Compare also *Firminus Maternus*, cap. 7, 6.

† Compare Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.*, i, 84.

‡ Compare Prudentius, *Contr. Sym.*, i, 297; compare also Max. Taurin, *Patrol.*, 57, 405; and *Min. Felix*, 6, 1; St. Augustine, *Civ. Dei*, iii, 12.

§ Compare Petron., 17.

| Tertullian, *ad Nat.*, ii, cap. 9, satirically comments upon the deification by the Romans of a murderer.

¶ Cæsar: "The most complete character in history."—Lord Bacon; "The foremost man in all the world"—Shakespeare; "The greatest name in history"—Merivale; "The entire and perfect man"—Mommson.

** Servius, *ad Verg. Ecl.*, v. 56, says, "Cæsar, qui primus divinos honores meruit et Divus appellatus est."

under the name "Iupiter Iulius."* They further decreed that no image should be made of Cæsar as he was really and truly a god. Suetonius tells us that the people fully believed in the divinity of Cæsar. It should be noted that, although Cæsar in his lifetime had no temples at Rome dedicated specifically to his worship, he allowed images of himself to be placed in the temples in the city, and appointed priests for this service. After the death of Cæsar the people believed that a comet which appeared soon after that time indicated that he had been admitted to the councils of the gods.† The worship of Cæsar received much encouragement from his adopted son, Augustus. The first of the emperors was a born diplomat, a shrewd statesman, and one who made the most of every situation, one who made all things work together for his good. His keen mind must have fully appreciated the enormous advantages accruing to one whose person was considered sacred, who was looked up to as to a god, and that nothing more effectual could be devised to assist him in the furtherance of his plans as head of the Roman government and Roman religion. Politics, therefore, had something to do with the growth of the apotheosis idea. Cæsar's worship once established was fruitful in consequences.‡

II. DURING THE AGE OF AUGUSTUS.

The great Cæsar's mantle fell upon one worthy to wear it. Praise almost equally great has been bestowed upon Augustus. Merivale says: "The establishment of the Roman Empire was after all the greatest political work that any human being ever wrought. The achievement of Alexander, of Cæsar, of Charlemagne, of Napoleon, is not to be compared with it for a moment." The name "Augustus" was in itself no small achievement, for when it was gained much was gained. It seemed to Octavius and his circle that no title hitherto employed would be adequate to his exalted position as head of the Roman government and Roman religion. "Augustus" seemed a befitting title and one that had much to recommend

* Compare Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, II 2, p. 738.

† Compare Vergil, *Æt.* IX, 47; Suet., *Cæs.*, 88; Dio Cass., xlv, 7; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, II, 24.

‡ Compare Cic., *Phil.* 2, 43; Dio Cass., 44, 4; Suet., *Cæs.*, 76; Florus, 2, 3.

it. This name suggested religious sanctity and surrounded the son of the deified Julius with a halo of consecration. It was closely connected with their worship, with the temples, the *auguries* by which the divine will was revealed, and it was connected with the favor and "*authority*" of Jove himself.* There could therefore be but one result of the assumption of this name. The Romans must have fully appreciated the logical outcome, for one of the writers of this period, Vegetius,† says, "Since the name is '*Augustus*' his worship must be established, as he is a god incarnate and present." The leading poets of his age gave their sanction and indorsement to the claim, and did much to further his worship. The language which they used is to the modern mind most remarkable. Vergil, noted for his sincerity, addresses his quondam schoolmate,‡ *Augustus*, seven years younger than himself, as a god with the powers of Jupiter or of Neptune, and concludes, "Enter upon thy divine honors and accustom thyself even now to be invoked in prayers" (compare *Georg.*, i, 24 f.). This may be considered to be the language of a courtier, but as *Augustus* had such unlimited powers as a ruler on earth, as a god his powers should be equally great. Taking into consideration the feelings of the times, such language is in perfect accord with the ancient ways of thinking. It is also true, as Sellar well says,§ "There is no passage in Virgil, scarcely any in Latin poetry, which must strike the modern reader as so unreal as this, or so untrue to the convictions of educated men." Horace, the favorite Latin poet of all climes and ages, says, "By me *Augustus* will always be considered a god,"|| and "Let us pay now, while he is with us, the honors due him." So Propertius refers to *Augustus* as a god,¶ and Ovid goes to greater extremes than any of these poets, "Adore him, he is above all other gods."** *Manilius*, also, uses similar language, and *Val. Maximus* goes so far as to say (a statement

* According to Ovid, in his *Fasti*, the word is equivalent to "*sanctus*," holy or sacred, and these two words are frequently joined together by Cicero, as, *De Nat. Deor.*, i, 119; ii, 62, 79; iii, 53.

† Compare Vegetius, *R. M.*, ii, 5.

‡ Compare Berne Scholia to Vergil.

§ Compare Sellar, *Rom. Poets of the Republic*—"Virgil," p. 234.

|| Compare Horace, *Carm.*, iii, 5, 2; *Epist.*, ii, 1, 15; *Carm.*, iv, 5, 24.

¶ Compare Prop., iii, 11, 66, and iv, 11, 60.

** Compare Ovid, *Trist.*, i, 9, 12; v, 9, 12.

showing the feeling of the time), "The Cæsars are gods more real than the ancient divinities of Olympus, for we have *only heard* of those divinities, but *we have seen* the Cæsars!" It will thus be seen that during this age the writers all, both great and small, referred to Augustus as a god. But before we pass censure upon the writers of this period for using such extravagant language we should remember that the Senate itself had officially decreed divine honors to him.* In the city of Rome Augustus strictly prohibited the worship of his person during his lifetime,† but in Southern Italy, according to Appian, statues were erected to him by the inhabitants and he was enrolled among their tutelary gods. Coins have been found in this section with the superscription IVPITER DEVS, and some represent Augustus with a halo about his head. Inscriptions, too, have been found showing that temples were erected to the worship of Augustus during his lifetime at Pisa, Pompeii, Assisi, Præneste, and Puteoli. In the provinces he was more freely worshiped; Ephesus, famous for its temple to Diana, was hardly less famous for its temple to Augustus. Inscriptions have been found at Ephesus in which he is referred to as Θεός and Σωτήρ. At Nicæa, also, a beautiful temple was dedicated to his worship. Pompey, also, was worshiped in Southern Italy, Mark Antony in Asia and Egypt. This, in brief, shows how widespread the worship of mortals was during the Augustan Age.

III. AFTER THE AUGUSTAN AGE.

Suetonius tells us that certain sharp-sighted persons actually beheld the ascension of Augustus, and censured the public for its incredulity. Augustus hardly died when the Senate officially declared that not only he is a god, but that on the first of the sixth month, henceforth to be called "Augustus," sacrifices should be regularly offered up to him; that a new priesthood should be established (*Sodales Augustales*); that in his honor the "*Ludi Augustales*" should be celebrated. The *Carmen Saliare* is still extant showing the name of

* Compare Dio Cass., 51, 20.

† Compare Suet., *Aug.*, 52, and Lact., *Inst.*, 1, 15, 7. Augustus went as far as he dared. He must have felt that the time was not yet ripe for such a worship in Rome.

Augustus alongside those of the Olympian deities. His widow, assisted by the young Tiberius, erects a temple upon the Palatine. She, too, was worshiped, but in the provinces sometimes as Juno, sometimes as Ceres. The Senate goes one step further and passes a decree, pregnant with consequences, that henceforth the entire Julian gens should receive divine honors.

Of the emperors who followed Augustus the less said the better, for none knew them but to hate; no one dared to name them but to praise. A worse lot could hardly be found anywhere. Some were crafty, some dull-witted, some brutal, some almost maniacal. The worship of such monsters, some almost fiends, is one of the darkest blots on Rome's history. The poets, with hardly an exception, come under the greater condemnation. But it should be pleaded in their extenuation that the formula for the empire was toady or die, and most of them preferred the former alternative! In that age it was dangerous to be a man of character; * to publicly refuse to do homage to the emperor was as exceptional as it was dangerous.

Tiberius, the first of the emperors after Augustus, has this to his credit: he forbade the offering of all divine honors to his person while he lived.† He, however, most rigorously insisted upon the newly established worship of his adopted father, and punished all who neglected this with death. He deprived a village in Asia of all its rights for neglecting the construction of a temple promised to Augustus.‡ He also saw to it that the Julian gens should come in for its share of the worship, he himself setting the example.

It was during the reign of Tiberius, as is well known, that Christ was brought before the Roman officer Pilate. Much has been said about Christ before Pilate, less about Pilate before Christ. Certainly Pilate, a Roman officer, well knowing that many Romans during his own lifetime had not only claimed but received divine honors, conscious, too, of the fact that at that very time Caesar and Augustus were both being worshiped at Rome itself, and living in a province

* Compare Plin., *Min.*, v, 14, 6; viii, 14, 7.

† Compare Suet., *Tib.*, 28; Tac., *Ann.*, ii, 87, and iv, 15, 36 and 37.

‡ Compare Tac., *Ann.*, iv, 30.

where not only the emperors but also the consuls and prefects, himself possibly among the number, received divine honors—certainly Pilate, a Roman, could not feel surprised or shocked at anyone charging the Accused that he laid claims to divinity, nor could he consistently consider that a very serious offense.

Caligula, remarkable above all things for a colossal veneration—of himself, at the very beginning of his reign boldly lays claim to being a god, and appeared in public sometimes in the garb of Bacchus, or Jupiter, and sometimes even of Venus or Diana! He built a temple to himself as Jupiter on the Capitoline hill,* substituted his own head for Jupiter's on many statues, and on one occasion rebuked great Jove himself for thundering at an unseasonable time. The Jews alone refused to pay him divine honors. Meeting a party of them one day, he thus addressed them, "Are you the god-haters who deny my divinity, which all the world acknowledges?" Dio Cassius says † that not only the multitude but men of high position rendered him divine honors.

Next came Claudius, who, of course, was deified, as he had so many of the divine (?) characteristics exhibited by his predecessor. Is it any wonder that the early Christian Fathers, both Greek and Latin, so frequently cite this monstrous practice in their warfare against the pagan religion, and that its representatives had so difficult a time defending it?

It was during the reign of Claudius that Paul and Barnabas came to Lystra. The conduct of the Lystrans on this occasion is in perfect accordance with the ancient systems of belief, and, in the light of history past and contemporaneous with them, their attitude of mind and actions perfectly consistent and intelligible. The multitude cries out, "The gods are come down to us in the likeness of men, and they called Barnabas, Jupiter, and Paul, Mercury." The priest of Jupiter brings oxen and garlands for the sacrifice. But how strange must the actions and words of the apostles have appeared to them, and what a rebuke! But in spite of all this scarce could they restrain "the multitude from doing

* Compare *Josephus*, xix, 1; xviii, 18.

† Compare Dio Cassius, 59, 27, 2, and B. Haussoullier, *Revue de Phil.*, 23, 147-164, on his self-deification, and his temple at Miletus.

sacrifice unto them." No less emphatic was the rebuke of Peter to Cornelius, who "fell down at his feet and worshiped him," "Stand up; I also am a man." All of this happened in the Orient, where the worship of mortals had flourished from time immemorial, and hence the more remarkable the actions of the apostles seemed to them. We know that in Greece the images of the emperors were more venerated than those of Jupiter himself,* and a similar condition of affairs undoubtedly prevailed at this time in the Orient.†

The poets of this age were all a bad lot. Lucan and Martial especially cudgeled their brains to devise dainty and attractive forms of flattery. Lucan ‡ says that Nero is a god who will, after his ascension to his divine abode, rule the world. Vespasian must have looked upon the whole matter of the worship of the emperors as a joke. We are told that when dying he jested on his approaching dignity, observing, as he felt his strength ebbing away, "I think I am becoming a god." Domitian, the cruel tyrant, the "monstrum horrendum," instructed his officers to begin all official documents with "*Dominus et Deus*," § and these titles were applied to him by contemporaries in both prose and poetry. || In inscriptions he is called "*sacratissimus princeps*," ¶ and in Athens he was addressed as Ζεὺς ἑλευθέριος.** Quintilian invokes his aid, addressing him as the god who presides over literary studies. The only persons to refuse to worship his image were the Christians, but this was considered a sacrilege deserving to be punished with death. It was during the closing years of the first century that a character lived well known in Church history, Apollonius of Tyana, who by his pretended miracles obtained such a hold upon the people that he was worshiped as a god,†† and set up as a rival of Christ.

Even the distinguished philosopher Marcus Aurelius sanctioned this form of worship, and at his earnest request the Senate declared officially that his wife was a goddess, a belief

* Compare Philost. in *Apoll.*, 1, 15.

† Compare also Paul's treatment at Melita (Acts xxviii, 4).

‡ Compare Lucan., v, 33.

§ Compare Dio Cass., 67, 13, 4; Eutrop., 7, 23, 2; Aur. Vict., *Cæs.*, 11, 2; *Ep.*, 11, 6.

|| Compare *Mart.*, 6, 3, 7; *Sil. Ital.*, 3, 671, etc.; Statius, *Praef.* to ii and iii, and *Silv.*, 1, 1, 95, etc. ¶ Compare *Eckhel*, 8, 361. ** Compare *C. I. A.*, 3, 1691.

†† Compare Lact., *Inst.*, v, 3, 7, et seq.

he himself had long held. Space will not permit an account of such contemptible and detestable characters as Commodus, Caracalla, and Diocletian, all of whom were the recipients of divine honors! Alexander Severus, who lived about 212 A. D., in his customary devotions to "the holy souls"—as to Apollonius of Tyana, Orpheus, Abraham, and Christ—included the best of the deified emperors! According to Suetonius sixty persons were elevated to divine honors from Cæsar to Constantine. Even the early Christian emperors, we are told, were declared to be gods as their predecessors had been. But by this time deification was more or less formal and official, and the Christians could accept it without a scruple. It is probable that Gratian (about 380 A. D.) was the first emperor who was not officially declared to be a god after his death.* It should be remarked that there is a great difference between granting divine honors to an emperor while still living and in doing the same after his death. While almost all the emperors received divine honors after death, it was only the most unworthy, as Nero, Caligula, Domitian, and Diocletian, who insisted upon this worship during their lifetime.† A saying attributed to another emperor, Napoleon, well illustrates the difference between the ancient and the modern point of view, "Alexander could call himself the son of Jupiter Ammon and the whole world believed him; but every fisherwoman would laugh at me if I wished to give out that I was the son of the Eternal Father." But this deification of mortals is not confined exclusively to ancient times. In Peru the inca Uiracoccha was adored as a god even during his lifetime,‡ and so, also, were the reigning sovereigns in Madagascar and New Zealand. We also read of travelers who were taken for deities, as Lander in most African towns,§ Captain Cook in the islands of the Pacific, and Sir Francis Drake among the North American Indians. These examples are sufficient to show the kinship of untutored minds, and that the adoration of human beings knows no geographical limitations; under similar conditions the mind works in a similar way.

* Compare De Rossi, *Inscript. Christ.*, p. 338.

† Compare also Victor, *Cæs.*, cap. 39, 4.

‡ Compare Sir John Lubbock, *Orig. of Civilization*,² p. 300.

§ Compare Lander, *Niger Expedition*, III, p. 198.

Having answered briefly the questions *When* and *Where* this practice prevailed, it remains to discuss the very important question *How* it originated, what feelings gave birth to it. Owing to the limitations of time and space this can only be done briefly and the question concerning its origin limited to the two great nations of antiquity, the Greeks and the Romans.*

All modern conceptions of God and his attributes must be banished from the mind and only the ancient point of view taken into consideration. The ancients' idea of God and his relation to man was not a high one. The gap between gods and man was not so great in ancient times as now. As Gaston Boissier † says: "There did not exist then, as to-day, an insuperable barrier between God and man; on the contrary, that religion seems to arrange between them a series of transitions which conduct from the one to the other. These intermediate stages acquaint all the world that it is not at all impossible to pass from humanity to divinity." As a matter of fact the gods and men were often confused by the Greeks themselves. Herodotus, ‡ for example, frankly avows his inability to determine whether Zalmoxis was a god or a man. They were in a similar predicament regarding Herakles § and Æsculapius. || Grote ¶ says: "The original hearers felt neither surprise nor displeasure from this confusion of the divine with the human individual. They looked at the past with a film of faith over their eyes. The intimate companionship and the occasional mistake of identity between gods and men were in full harmony with their reverential retrospect." Further, anthropomorphism was a striking characteristic of both the Greek and Roman religions. When the anthropomorphic process is well advanced, apotheosis begins, gods have been changed to the similitude of men, men can now be changed into the similitude of gods. The anthropomorphic process introduced human elements into the idea of God;

* As far as the *Egyptians* are concerned, who can wonder that they should have worshiped human beings when they were accustomed to consider dogs, crocodiles, wolves, lions, and many other animals of land and sea as gods?

† Compare Gaston Boissier, *La Religion Romaine*.

‡ Compare Herodotus, IV, 94-96.

§ Compare Cic., *De Off.*, III, 25.

|| Compare Galen, *Protr.*, 9, p. 22 (K); Pausanias, II, 26.

¶ Compare Grote, *Hist. Greece*, I, p. 449.

apotheosis introduced divine elements into the idea of man. Each widened the circle of polytheism, allowed the imagination to deify men as easily as it had once deified material and sacerdotal objects. The anthropomorphic polytheism of the Greeks and Romans gave to their gods the form of man and endowed them with all of his traits, both good and bad.* It is evident from many considerations that with these two nations, godlikeness did not involve righteousness, and that holiness was not necessarily a divine attribute. Morality too often had little to do with religion—notable instances are Jupiter among the gods and Cæsar among the men who were deified. As Gibbon says, "We should disgrace some of the emperors by comparing them with Jupiter." These considerations exhibit the tendencies of the ancient Greek and Roman religions.

Among the Greeks it may be said that the worship of deified men first manifested itself in connection with hero worship (compare page 942) and the belief in the divine origin of kings.† Menander, who lived during the close of the third century, said that "though many of the kings seemed to be from men, they are in reality sent down from God and are emanations of the divine potency." In historical times the deification of Alexander the Great is a typical case. The situation may be thus summed up: he was a god because he manifested the divine attributes and performed the feats of a god, and because he had "the kingdom, the power, and the glory."‡ The Greeks may have been influenced, also, by the practice prevailing among oriental nations.

For the Romans it may be said that their worship of the emperors was a direct outgrowth of their own religious conceptions and of the conditions that prevailed at that time. These conditions were, as their population, of a complex and heterogeneous character. Apotheosis was not the result of any one thing, all things worked together to produce it; there were many forces operative, apotheosis was the resultant of these forces. Ancestor worship, as among the Hindus, the Greeks, and Teutons, so among the Romans, prevailed widely.§

* Compare Psa. i. 21, "Thou thoughtest, saith God, that I was altogether such an one as thyself."

† Compare Boeckh, *Encycl. u. Method.*, p. 435.

‡ Compare Willamowitz-Moellendorf, *Aristoteles und Athen*, i. p. 337.

§ Compare Herbert Spencer, *Sociology*, p. 440, and Vergil, *Æn.*, vii. 133 and 177.

This is shown by their worship of the *Lares, divi manes*, and by the *Feralia, Novendiale*, and *Parentalia*. Their worship of the emperors *after death* is to be explained by the belief prevailing among them that after death the father of the family became a *Lar*. Since the state was modeled on the family, it follows naturally that the father of the state, the emperor, should after death become the *Lar* of the state, and accordingly worshiped. Their worship during their lifetime is to be similarly connected with their worship of the *Genius*. If not only every place had its *genius*, or protecting spirit,* but also the poorest and meanest Roman as well, why not also a great and beneficent sovereign? Accordingly the Romans not only worshiped their own *genius*, but also the *genius of the state*, and the worship of the invisible protector soon blended with the worship of the visible, or of the emperor. In the case of Cæsar the Romans not only worshiped his *genius*, but also the "clemency" of Cæsar, and with Augustus a similar condition of affairs existed with similar results. Augustus further encouraged the worship of the *genius* of the chief magistrate side by side with the worship of the *genius* of the people. In all these cases worship of the abstract prepared the way for the worship of the concrete. Both Cæsar and Augustus claimed to have sprung from gods, and to be under a special care of a god. Augustus, too, was the sovereign pontiff, the official head of the Roman religion, and his authority in all matters of religion supreme.

But, as said above, there were other forces at work, and a word must be said about them. The Romans' belief in their gods had been shaken by the teachings of Euhemerus, whose doctrine had been steadily growing in Rome from the time of Ennius. Euhemerist theology was part of the creed of the Stoics, and was warmly espoused by several Christian assailants of paganism, as by Minucius Felix, Lactantius, and St. Augustine, who found in this doctrine that the ground had been prepared for them in their efforts to strip Jupiter and other pagan gods of the attributes of deity. Even Cicero did not hesitate to say† that "the gods who were publicly worshiped were men," though

* Compare Servius, ad Verg., *Æn.*, v, 95.

† Compare Lactantius, *Inst.*, i, 15, 16.

he also adds that "he himself worshiped them." The words, too, applied to worship, suffered a metamorphosis. *Deus*, in the course of time, lost much of its primitive feeling of sacredness. Cicero himself uses it a number of times in the sense of "the perfect ideal."* *Deus* in late Latin, as also *dominus*, hardly suggested to the Roman mind the Deity. Other languages exhibit the same phenomenon, as *Ζεύς* in late Greek, *diva* in Italian, Gott in German, and the rather free use of "divine" in English, and of "worship," idol. So Juliet says to Romeo, "Thy gracious self, the god of my idolatry." *Dominus* in the time of the empire became simply a formal title, a term of deference and courtesy.

The word *apotheosis* itself has suffered a similar desecration. A certain Latin grammar has been recently referred to as an "apotheosis;" and what a falling off was there, my countrymen, in the following outburst in Elia W. Peattie's *An Astral Onion*, recently published, "It was the onion—that fragrant bulb, which had obtained its apotheosis in the cuisine of Nora Finnegan." Such is the modern degradation of these words. In the case of great and beneficent sovereigns the religious temperament of the Romans was such that extraordinary abilities and services commanded extraordinary respect and gratitude, and these feelings could find but one form of expression, the offering of divine homage. In the case of such monsters as Nero or Caligula one cannot but feel that such a form of worship could spring from nothing else than the compulsion of fear or flattery. In the case of the later emperors the bestowal of the titles of *dominus* and *deus*, as well as their worship, had become a mere matter of form, and religious feelings were conspicuous by their absence.

* Compare Cicero, *De Or.*, i, 106; ii, 179; iii, 58.

Emory B. Lease

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENTS.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

WE set much store by our "Arena" department, and wonder that so few avail themselves of its opportunities. Recent contributions tend to prolixity. We solicit brief, incisive, pithy articles for it.

FROM a work lately published by Swan & Sonnenschein, of London, Cardinal Gibbons quotes statistics showing the inroads made by Romanism in the Church of England and in affiliated classes of English society: "Since 1850 the persons who have gone over to the Church of Rome include 445 graduates of Oxford, 213 of Cambridge, and 63 of other universities, besides 27 peers, 244 military officers, 162 authors, 129 lawyers, and 60 physicians. Among the graduates were 446 clergymen of the Established Church."

DR. H. BAVINCK, whose article leads this number of the *Review*, was born, the son of a clergyman, December 13, 1854, at Hoogeveen, Drente, Holland. Graduating from the university at Leiden, in 1880, he obtained his degree of Doctor of Sacred Theology upon a thesis on "The Ethics of Zwingli." Two years after his graduation he was appointed by the Synod to the Chair of Dogmatics and Encyclopedia in the Theological School at Kampen, which he has now held for twenty years. Among numerous articles, pamphlets, and books from his pen the following may be mentioned: "The Science of Sacred Theology," inaugural to his professorship, 1883; "The Catholicity of Christianity," 1888; "Recent Dogmatic Thought in the Netherlands," (*Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, April, 1892); *Dogmatics of the Reformed Churches*, four volumes, 1897-1901. We have pleasure in presenting his remarkable article, "Creation or Development," in its entirety, notwithstanding its length transgresses our fixed rule, and we have all the more satisfaction because of the admirable way in which the accomplished translator, Rev. J. Hendrik de Vries, has done his work.

SOME RECENT OUTSIDE VIEWS OF METHODISM.

FEW things are more interesting and instructive than non-Methodist references to our Church, which enable us to "see ourselves as ithers see us," whether their comments be commendatory or otherwise.

1. Recently Goldwin Smith has been saying that against the disintegrating antichristian forces of the eighteenth century "the religious crusade of John Wesley" was among the strongest apologetic and defensive forces, being a practical vindication of Christianity because a demonstration of its power; and that Wesley's Church had the advantage of being "born, not like the other Protestant bodies in doctrinal controversy, but in evangelical reaction against the impiety and vice of the age." He also says that in the nineteenth century, when German philosophy and criticism of the Bible invaded England, and Milman's *History of the Jews* appeared, minimizing miracles and treating Old Testament history and personages in the same spirit as if they were ordinary and merely secular, then the English Evangelicals (chief among whom were the Wesleyans) with "their inward persuasion of conversion and spiritual union with the Saviour," as well as the Quakers with their inner light, were really beyond the reach of the critics, the secularizing historians, and the rationalizing philosophers. The foundations of the evangelical faith, Goldwin Smith clearly perceives, were too deep to be affected by any form of outside skeptical assault; the forces of disintegration could not touch them, never will be able to reach them; they are deeply buried in the soul and rest upon the Rock of Ages. Professor Smith further says that "the main support of orthodox Protestantism in the United States now is Methodism, which, by the perfection of its organization, combining strong ministerial authority with a democratic participation of all members in the active service of the Church, has so far not only held its own, but enlarged its borders and increased its power;" though he forecasts the diminution of its spiritual influence if "the time comes when the fire of enthusiasm grows cold and class meetings lose their fervor."

2. Andrew Lang in his review of the literature of the nineteenth century says that when the flood of modern scientific theories came in with the elder Darwin, who was supposed to explain the universe without a God, those "emancipating"

theories were unable to laugh out of court the mystical religion and austere Christian life which had come in from the preaching of Wesley, and which, Mr. Lang thinks, was reproduced long after in the "Oxford Movement," the spirit of that movement being, in his opinion, directly descended from Wesley. It might then be called in some degree the triumphal return of John Wesley, one-time fellow of Lincoln College, to the halls of Oxford. Following the progress of that historical current of spiritual influence still further, an article in the *Review* (March-April, 1899) on "The Oxford Movement and Its Leaders" closed with this sentence, "The modern Forward Movement of Methodism owes much of its aggressive and evangelizing temper to the Oxford Movement;" from which it would appear that the stream of spiritual life which began with the Holy Club, having flowed abroad over the United Kingdom during many decades, swept back into Oxford University, and after setting all things whirling there in eddies of religious commotion, swept out again, at the end of the nineteenth century, through city and country as the latest aggressive movement of Methodism in our day.

3. Three years ago, in a circle of ministers representing seven Protestant denominations, a clergyman, concerning whom a secular daily once truthfully said that Congregationalism has no honors which it has not offered to him, raised the question whether Methodism owed its large success more to its efficient organization and complete machinery, or rather to something characteristic and distinctive in the spirit of its life and the tone and quality of its message. The propounder of the question was evidently impressed with the large success referred to, and had thoughtfully searched for the real explanation. He announced his own conviction that it was above everything else, that vital something which he considered peculiar and proprietary in the spirit and quality, as well as in the form, of Methodism's message. Now, if this explanation were not a large part of the truth, it could hardly have impressed so disinterested, experienced, discerning, and profound an observer as being true. And if it be true, if the secret of the victories hitherto won by our Church lies in the peculiarly Methodistic quality and spirit of its preaching and its worship, then it is of utmost importance that all of us, especially our younger ministers, take pains to learn precisely what that Methodistic spirit and quality are; and knowing

what they are, to cherish them, cultivate them, cling to them as the very life and power of our communion. For if, as this wise ecclesiastical statesman tells us, the secret of our power lies in them, then to lose them will be to forfeit our commission and be emptied of our power. Outsiders say that Methodism has sounded the Gospel through a trumpet of its own, a sonorous trumpet which gave a loud, sweet, golden, welcome cry, a cry which the sinful and the hopeless liked to hear, a cry which made glad the heart of man. May Methodism hold that instrument with a firm grasp, resolved never to lay it down, nor part with it on any solicitation; but rather stand to the end of time, like one of Fra Angelico's tall trumpeting angels with lifted eyes and illumined face, blowing the praise of God and the salvation of men!

At this moment three Americans are alive who recall an April morning when an Englishman on horseback led the file down the steep, wild, gloomy gorge of the Kedron from Marsaba toward the Dead Sea, and as he rode played on his bugle in brotherly fashion for their delight "The Star Spangled Banner," filling their homesick hearts with glad good cheer and their eyes with happy tears at the dear thought of home and the hope of reaching it after all wanderings, vicissitudes, and perils. Is it true, as we hear our neighbor intimating, that Methodism has so winsomely played the Gospel on its bugle as to put cheer and hope into the hearts of men in their march through the gloomy gorges of this earthly life, rent by earthquake, upheaved by internal and infernal fires, with the Dead Sea not far away shored by the sulphurous ruins of many a Sodom and Gomorrah? Brethren, in this lachrymose, lugubrious, pessimistic, dubitating, cowardly time, there is need to blow up the bugles, loud and clear and sweet,—no harsh note, no low note, no weak note, but the proper golden cry of courage, good cheer, and salvation in the glorious Gospel of the blessed God as our fathers sounded it.

A CENTAUR IN REGENT STREET.

PROFESSOR HUXLEY held miracles to be incredible, and once curtly dismissed the subject with a conclusive air by asking if any amount of testimony could make it credible that a centaur, a man-horse, had been seen trotting down Regent Street in London. Such is often the scoffer's flippant way.

The first suitable reply to the denier, who thus unceremoniously flouts the Christian evidences, would be to ask him if he thinks it at all conceivable that any number of sane persons could possibly be found in London who would testify to such an event as he pictures. Testimony to any such event was never soberly given anywhere. This skeptic supposes the unsupposable.

And the next suitable reply would be to call his attention to the fact that a multitude of sane and reputable persons did declare themselves eyewitnesses of the Christian miracles, especially of the one transcendent supernatural wonder, Jesus Christ, sinless in life and triumphant over death; and further, that millions of sane and honest people in many centuries and in all lands have believed the testimony of those eyewitnesses, finding it supported by much collateral and corroborative evidence, and every way compatible with reason and intelligence. Huxley contemptuously disparages and treats as worthless the reasoned convictions of respectable thinking millions, some of whom, at least, are as intellectually competent as himself.

The form of the question with which this *a priori* denier rudely flung aside the subject of miracles indicates that the particular miracle he had in mind as typical of all was the one supreme, comprehensive miracle, Jesus Christ, the God-man; and the implication is that he thought Him, a being blending in himself the human and the divine, to be as incredible, as necessarily mythical, as the centaur, a fabled creature, part man and part horse. A most amazing failure to perceive the grossest incongruity! A coarse and flippant treatment of a lofty and sacred subject! To call Huxley's suggestion brutal is simply to speak with accuracy. What kind of a mind is it to which the progress of Jesus through the ages suggests a centaur trotting through the heart of London? The man who can, by even the faintest suggestion, and in the most impulsive and unconsidered expression, put Jesus Christ on a par with a centaur must have some such unspiritual mind as that self-fondling egomaniac had who claimed that his perspiration was finer than prayer, and his armpits holier than altars of worship. Even to repeat their words is a mortification of sensibility and a trial of grace. There is something bestial in the unspirituality of such minds, a low subhuman want of sensibility, which would be inconceivable if it were not actual. The utter inanity of the denier's offensive question about the centaur empties it of argumenta-

tive force and merely exposes incapacity for dealing decently with an august subject. What force could there be in saying that because nobody would believe the story of a boozy cockney, rolling homeward in the small hours of the morning, if he should relate that he and his cabby saw a mermaid, a woman-fish, combing her long tresses in the moonlight under London Bridge, having swum up the Thames from the sea; and because everybody would scout the tale of Egyptian fellahin if they should report that a sphinx, a woman-lion, was seen to come out of the desert and lap water out of the Nile: therefore the Christian history related by the four evangelists, containing their accounts of the supernatural Saviour, the divine Man, Jesus of Nazareth, the Christ of God, and the gospel record of the supernatural events which naturally attended the supernatural Man—all this sacred history, though certified by evidence which has convinced and satisfied the greatest minds of Christendom, must be waved aside by sane and thoughtful men as not to be believed?

And here we come upon what looks to unsophisticated minds extremely like a curious inconsistency. Strange to say, this scientific professor, who held miracles to be incredible, did not declare them impossible. But if not impossible, how are they incredible? Huxley distinctly said, as did J. S. Mill, that nobody knows miracles to be impossible; that the question whether miracles have happened is purely and solely one of evidence. These are some of his words: "I am unaware of anything that has a right to the title of an 'impossibility' except a contradiction of terms. There are impossibilities logical, but none natural. A round square, a present past, are impossibilities, but walking on the water, or turning water into wine, or raising the dead are plainly not impossibilities." He further said that our limited knowledge of nature does not qualify us to announce what is or is not possible in this universe; and further, that the native limitations of our faculties are such that we never can be in a position to set bounds to the possibilities of nature. Within those possibilities, therefore, may be such exceptional, or at least unusual, events as the gospel miracles. And yet, notwithstanding such concessions, Huxley insisted that the accounts of miracles given in the Bible are not believable, because no amount of evidence can make the miracles credible, any more than testimony could make us believe that a

centaur was seen trotting down Regent Street. One question not improper to be interjected, though somewhat out of connection, is why skeptical evolutionary scientists, like Huxley, should reckon a union of divine and human in one person, Jesus Christ, whom they deny, to be more unlikely than a union of man and beast in one creature, the Missing Link, which they affirm or declare their belief in, though no man has seen it, nor has science any trace of it.

Apart from the indecency of yoking Jesus Christ with a mythical semibrute monster, there is, to begin with, the stubborn fact that the Founder of the Christian Faith and Lord of Christendom is now accepted by every intelligent person who has examined the matter as no myth, but an actual historic character, who lived, taught, and died in Palestine, marked a new epoch for the world, and gave initiative and sustaining impulse to that most elevated and enlightened period of history known as the Christian era and proud to bear his name. The historical Christ is an indubitable reality. The mythical theory of Strauss's *Leben Jesu* is admitted to have exploded speedily and utterly under fair and capable critical examination; a weaker proposition than its main contention never disgraced language or foisted itself upon human notice. Beyond all possibility of denial the groundwork of Christianity is solid, actual history. However it may be with Huxley's centaur, Jesus is as undeniably historic as Socrates, Cicero, Julius Cæsar, Alfred the Great, Napoleon Bonaparte, or George Washington, and far more unquestionably so than Strauss, because the effects which Jesus wrought, and which remain to attest that he existed, and spoke, and suffered as the gospels narrate, are immeasurably more visible, vast, and indestructible than the faint traces of himself left by David Friedrich Strauss.

The question of Jesus Christ's real existence, his life and death in Palestine, being so settled as to silence forever all objectors except blathering idiots and senselessly stubborn deniers, there remains the question as to his nature, whether that was divine or merely human. That his nature was extraordinary, unique, unparalleled, is manifestly certain. Its singularity and preeminence consisted first of all in his sinlessness. This he distinctly claimed in presence of friends and enemies; this claim his life and character supported; and when he challenged contradiction of this claim no man could truthfully

accuse him. The moral perfection which he claimed others recognized and confessed. Peter, having lived long with the Master, declared that he was not like other men. Pilate found him to be without fault, and washed his hands before the multitude in token of his wish to clear himself of the blood of the innocent One whom he had cravenly yielded up to the clamor of the mob to be crucified. Judas was filled with intolerable remorse because he had betrayed the Harmless and the Spotless. James, the Lord's brother, knowing him from childhood, revered him and spoke of him as the Lawgiver and Judge of men.

Now, this well-proven and conceded sinlessness, this unparalleled moral perfection, certified a unique character, a nature singular and superior. It is a phenomenon which alone by itself creates the probability and raises the presumption that this sinless and perfect Being is something more than human. In the character and life of Jesus is seen a sustained spiritual miracle, the original, fundamental, germinal miracle, setting him apart from other men, and making all the miracles connected with him and his ministry congruous and easy of belief. Herein is the most marvelous thing, not that loaves and fishes were multiplied and water turned to wine, but that One who most clearly and instantly detected the least taint of evil claimed to be absolutely free from taint or fault, and bore out that claim in all his life. Sense of sinfulness, consciousness of shortcoming, signs of penitence, prayer for forgiveness, need of redemption—none of these was ever seen in him; he was without spot or blemish.

Superhumanly perfect, He is the colossal miracle. And that from him should proceed a wonder-working power, producing various lesser miracles of love and mercy, is no more strange than that a born king should exert royal powers, or that from the root of a great tree little saplings should sprout and grow.

The resurrection of Jesus is no more extraordinary than his own exceptional nature; that the conqueror of sin should triumph over death was only to be expected. The significant fact is not so much that the miracles prove Christ to be possessed of superhuman powers as that the transcendently sinless and supernatural Christ makes the small miracles attendant on him seem entirely credible and probable. That he was something more than human is abundantly proven.

But furthermore, as to his nature, character, and powers, he claimed something more than spiritual perfection. He announced himself to be the Messiah of God, the Saviour of men, the Judge of the world, the Arbiter of the everlasting destinies of mankind, Son of God as well as Son of man. He proclaimed himself the founder of a celestial kingdom on earth in which the will of God should be done as it is in heaven; he gave the law for a new dispensation; he claimed to have power on earth to forgive sins, preannounced his death in expiation for the sins of the whole world, and predicted his resurrection and return in glory. The Christ of the four gospels not only was an actual historical person and a morally perfect being; he also made divine claims, asserted divine prerogatives, spoke with divine authority, and wielded divine powers. And he alone of all mankind has lifted the world out of darkness into light, out of despair into hope, and become the source of life eternal to the human race. Even Strauss once spoke of Christ as the highest we know or can imagine in the sphere of religion, and as the Person without whose presence in the mind no perfect piety is possible. Of this there can be no other explanation but that God was in him as in no other, even that in him dwelt all the fullness of the Godhead bodily. However it may be with Huxley's man-beast, the God-man is an actual fact in earthly history, and the supreme factor in the moral and spiritual life of mankind. The King of glory advances no less swiftly and victoriously in his benign progress for failing to find centaurs that can be harnessed to his chariot. He is not waiting at a road house for the scientists to furnish him with a relay of mythical monsters, centaurs, minotaurs, or hippogriffs. Alone in his unique greatness and unparalleled nature he moves on.

When a sternly truthful prophet, calling men to repentance, shall cry out at sight of a centaur, "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world;" when sinful women shall go in to anoint the feet of a centaur with precious ointment and still more precious penitential tears; when a born skeptic shall lift his eyes reverently to a centaur and exclaim in adoration, "My Lord, and my God;" when a city's populace shall stream out from the city's gate to spread palm branches under a centaur's hoofs, shouting, "Hosanna! Hosanna! Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord;" when a soldier shall turn away from watching a centaur die, murmuring to

himself, "Truly this was the Son of God;" when a centaur shall be reported by reputable and veracious chroniclers as saying to his followers or hearers, "I am the Light of the world," "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest," "I go to prepare a place for you; I will come again and receive you unto myself; because I live ye shall live also;" when a noble army of martyrs and a glorious company of apostles shall go forth to preach and die for a centaur; when historians shall visit the ruins of dead civilizations which were full of cruelty and pollution, and come back and report that when they inquired what destroyed those centers of abomination a centaur galloped up and answered, "They despised my counsel and would none of my reproof, therefore I slew them with my bow and arrow;" when on the map of the world and in the pages of history a centaurian civilization shall be seen enlightening, purifying, and uplifting nation after nation; when saints shall declare that all the holiness and godliness they know anything about comes by worshipping and loving and serving a centaur; when a man of Napoleon's brain shall say that a centaur's victories so much surpass his own that men's hearts are subdued by the million until they would willingly die for him; when the gifted lips of genius shall describe a centaur as "holiest among the mighty, and mightiest among the holy;" and when a thousand other similar things shall come to pass: then will we concede the centaur to be in all probability a historical reality, a creature of superbestial, and even of superhuman, qualities, attributes, and powers; then will we earnestly, solemnly, and devoutly investigate all accessible evidence concerning the centaur; then will we proceed to fix the day when we will offer our homage and allegiance to the man-beast, and publicly proclaim ourselves his disciples; then will we try to persuade our fellow-men that it is meet, right, and their bounden duty to adore the centaur, crying out in their temples, "Glory be to the man-beast, as it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be, world without end!"

If supernatural Christianity ever disappears from among men, it will not be because a scoffing scientist has hitched it up alongside a man-beast and driven both of them to death. A far greater danger is that the Christian Church should betray its trust and professing Christians fail to live the Christian life and do their Master's work.

THE ARENA.

THE PROPHECY OF DANIEL.

DR. PUSEY once said, "The Book of Daniel is especially fitted to be a battlefield between faith and unbelief." This putting of the case harmonizes with the declaration of Sir Isaac Newton when he said, "To reject Daniel's prophecies is to reject the Christian religion; for this religion is founded on its prophecy concerning Christ." Bishop Westcott has said, "No writing of the Old Testament has had so great an influence in the development of Christianity as the Book of Daniel;" and Cornill, though an out and out rationalist, says, "Hardly another biblical book has exercised so controlling a power over all subsequent time; and to-day we still stand under the influence of ideas and views which the Book of Daniel was first to throw into the development of the religion of Israel."

The objects of the book are, first, to comfort and cheer God's ancient people with assurances that their Messianic expectations were not to be disappointed; and second, to warn the nations of their peril and doom. Its predictions cover so much of the Old Testament times as yet remained, and the entire Church period—to the end of our age. Strategically, therefore, Daniel is, in an important sense, the key to the Church's position, historically and eschatologically considered.

The Church has always believed the Book of Daniel to be a unit, notwithstanding five chapters are historical and seven prophetic, and that Daniel was its author. The Church has stood and still stands for these views.

Recently the rationalists with unusual vigor have renewed their assaults upon the evangelical historical view of the authorship of the book. Rupprecht speaks of these assaults in this vigorous manner: "The modern criticism of Daniel's book is in its spirit unchristian, immoral, and unscientific." D'Envieu says, "The violence of modern criticism has only reproduced, under the show of learned strategy, the old assaults in the first years of our Christian era." As I read the history of this conflict I see nothing new in the present assaults except the unwarrantable assumption, by the assailants, of a monopoly of scholarship, which is a trick to capture the ignorant and conceited. The magnificent work of J. Fabre D'Envieu, professor of oriental languages in the Sorbonne, Paris, has answered step by step every assumption, criticism, and argument, linguistic and historical, of the higher critics, ancient and modern, in a comprehensive and satisfactory manner; and utterly refutes the audacious assumption of the destructive critics of a monopoly of scholarship. It puts in the clearest possible light the German apostasy from the word of God, the devotion of its institutions to the

destructive criticism, and crushes every argument made by the critics against Daniel being the author of the book bearing his name.

Professor Tiefenthal, of the College of St. Anselm, Rome, has since issued a work on the same subject in vindication of Daniel. Professor Kennedy, of New College, London, has done the same thing, annihilating Cheyne, Driver, Farrar, and all the imitators of German rationalism. The ablest German writers to-day of the progressive school admit that the Book of Daniel could not have been written later than B. C. 300. Every weapon used by the attacking party has, in the language of Dr. West, "left untouched the solid learning and arguments of an Hengstenberg, Havernick, Stuart, Kliefoth, Kranichfeld, Fuller, Lange, Auberleu, Keil, Volck, Wolf, Caspari, Orelli, Oswald, Pusey, Tregelles, and, later still, Tiefenthal, Herzfeld, Zahn, D'Enviu, Dornstetter, Dusterwald, Atzberger, and others of like mature judgment and profound attainments." I am speaking now particularly about the conflict as to the authorship. The critics insist that Daniel did not write the book, but that it was written by some one who lived during the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, about 170 B. C. If Daniel was not the author, then is the book—in the language of the late Professor E. Cone Bissel—"a complete and wicked forgery." Gess said, "It is impossible to excuse the writer of it from the charge of pious fraud." There can be no middle ground in this contention. This book is either a bedrock foundation for the science of eschatology, or we are in bewildering confusion and ignorance as to the issue of the conflict between Christ and Satan—between the kingdoms of this world and that of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Of course, when contending for the evangelical, historical view of authorship, I mean authorship for substance, and not for any revision of the book. As Dr. West puts it, "We may admit a Maccabean editorship without any difficulty, even as we admit an editorship of our English Bible. This is very remote from saying the book is a Maccabean composition, or half and half so."

The unity of the book is admitted by even the most rationalistic. The historical accuracy of a portion of the book is challenged by a few scholars. The only matter really in dispute relates to its date and authorship. While the destructive critics insist that Daniel did not write the book, they do not pretend to know who did; but they are sure some one must have done the work about the year 167 B. C. I will give their chief reasons for believing as they do, and then state briefly the reasons for not believing as they do in the matter, and for believing that Daniel wrote the Book of Daniel:

First. Daniel himself is spoken of in the book in laudatory terms, therefore he could not have written it. It is urged, in reply, that he speaks of himself historically, and in no more laudatory terms than does Paul of himself.

Second. Corrupt language is used—Hebrew and Aramaic, with a little Greek. This is met by the statement "that the language of the book

harmonizes perfectly with the circumstances of time and place, and with that of other books written at the period of the exile." The character of the Hebrew bears the closest affinity to that of Ezekiel and Habakkuk. Dr. Driver alleges that "the Aramaic of Daniel is a western Aramaic dialect of the type spoken in and about Palestine." Professor Delitzsch thought otherwise. He says, "Affinity with the Palestine Aramaic is lacking entirely; it is with the Aramaic of the Book of Ezra, the oldest east Aramaic monument preserved to us." The destructive critics once had a long list of Greek words charged to the account of Daniel. They have been reduced to just three, and they are names of musical instruments. It is well known that the Babylonians were fond of music, and that the Greeks had commercial relations with Babylon and countries even farther east. Delitzsch says on this subject: "Why should not three Greek instruments have been known in Babylon, the 'city of merchants,' as Ezekiel calls it, in the preselucid period? . . . Acquaintance with three Greek instruments would not be surprising nor inexplicable even in Nineveh, not to say in Babylon, under the late Chaldean dominion." Critical scholars of to-day ought to know that the figures of these very instruments have been discovered on the monuments of Assyria and Babylon as far back as 800 B. C.; and even Professor Cheyne has abandoned his false argument that sought to fix the date of Daniel's book as Maccabean from its style.

Third. The doctrinal teaching of the book. Canon Driver infers that this book belongs to "a later age than that of the exile," because "the doctrines of the Messiah, of angels, of the resurrection, and of a judgment on the world are taught with greater distinctness and in a more developed form than elsewhere in the Old Testament." Professor Green says: "But it is difficult to see why fresh revelations on these subjects might not be made to Daniel as well as to one in the period of the Maccabees. The inspired writer to the Hebrews believed that there were those who through faith had 'stopped the mouths of lions and quenched the violence of fire;' why may we not believe it too?"

Fourth. Its place in the canon is inconsistent with early authorship. It is answered "that the order of books in the canon does not rest on chronological but on internal grounds." Daniel had the *donum propheticum*—the prophetic gift—in a preeminent degree, and is called a prophet in Matt. xxiv, 15, and Mark xiii, 14; but he did not have the *munus propheticum*—the prophetic office. To this agree Witsius, Hengstenberg, Havernick, Keil, Oehler, Delitzsch, and others. In Acts ii, 29, 30, King David was called a prophet, but he never held the prophetic office. Green says: "If the critical theory of the Book of Daniel were correct, and this book, though actually produced in the time of the Maccabees, was inserted in the canon because believed to be the genuine production of Daniel, the contemporary of Ezekiel, and the proper place for such a book from such an author was among the prophets, why was it not placed alongside of Ezekiel, as it is in the

Septuagint, where the classification was upon a principle which required it? It is just because the Hebrew canon was accurately classified upon a principle of its own that the book stands where it does, in the K'thubhim and not among the prophets."

Fifth. Jesus, the son of Sirach, writing about 200 B. C., in his enumeration of Israelitish worthies, though he mentions Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and others, says nothing about Daniel. But he fails to mention Ezra, Gideon, Samson, and Jehoshaphat. Does such failure prove that there were no such men? But Daniel's contemporaries mention him. See Ezek. xiv. 14, 20; xxviii. 3.

Sixth. It is argued that the statement "Understood by the books" (chapter ix, 2) has reference to the completed canon of the Scriptures. This is an assumption for which there is not the slightest evidence. Green says, "The expression used implies that the prophecies of Jeremiah formed part of a collection of sacred books, which, nevertheless, it may safely be affirmed, was not formed in 536 B. C."

Seventh. Daniel's habit of praying three times a day points to a time when religious ideas had been brought from India. But if Daniel's habit was borrowed, he probably got it from King David. See Psa. lv, 17.

Eighth. The writer begins his predictions with the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. Delitzsch says the writer "takes up the vision where the perspective of Isaiah had narrowed down to a point, and opens it anew." Westcott says, "The prophetic visions of Ezekiel form the connecting link between the characteristic types of revelation and prophecy."

Ninth. That the prophetic parts of the book are widely different from other prophecies. Delitzsch suggests that Daniel's "position in the history of redemption and his own personal position at a heathen court, among Magi courtiers" would be a satisfactory answer for this objection. There are a few minor objections besides, but they are not worth mentioning.

There are a great many indisputable evidences, as I think, that Daniel wrote the book:

First. The writer speaks of himself as "me, Daniel," and "I, Daniel," repeatedly and scores of times uses the first person singular. It is true that he sometimes speaks of himself in the third person; but so did Cæsar, Thucydides, and others. He speaks of himself in both the third and first person in the same chapter.

Second. The historical evidence. François Lenormant, professor of archæology at the National Library of France, says: "The more often I read the Book of Daniel and compare it with the cuneiform records, the more striking seems the fidelity of the picture given by the first six chapters of the Babylonian court and superstitions of the time of Nebuchadnezzar, and the more strongly am I impressed with the conviction that at least this portion of the book was written in Babylon itself, and not far from the time of the events related, and so the more

impracticable and incorrect it seems to me to transfer its origin to a date as late as that of Antiochus Epiphanes."

Third. Internal evidence. The style, temper, sentiment, movement of thought, and personal characteristics of this writing belong to a much earlier time than 170 B. C. Even Canon Driver admits that "in warmth of religious feeling and in the unflinching maintenance of divine truth the book resembles closely enough the writings of the older prophets."

Fourth. The Talmud tells us that the Book of Daniel dates from the time of the Great Synagogue. If it was written about 167 B. C., on what grounds can its presence in the Septuagint version be accounted for without arbitrarily denying the incontestable evidence of the age of this venerable document? In *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible* it is said, "The First Book of Maccabees represents Mattathias quoting the marvelous deliverances recorded in Daniel, together with those of earlier times (1 Macc. ii, 59, 60), and elsewhere exhibits an acquaintance with the Greek version of the book (Macc. i, 54; Dan. ix, 27)."

Fifth. Josephus tells us that Alexander the Great entered Jerusalem about 330 B. C. and offered sacrifices to God in the temple, where the high priest showed him the prophecies of Daniel (Dan. vii, 6; viii, 7), which predicted the overthrow of the Persian empire by a Greek king, which he felt could apply to none other than himself.

Sixth. Until modern times Porphyry was the only one to insist that Daniel did not write the book. Both the Synagogue and the Church declare that it contained authentic prophecies of Daniel.

Seventh. The testimony of Jesus to the authorship of the book. He said, "When therefore ye see the abomination of desolation, which was spoken of by Daniel the prophet," etc. That is to say, Jesus says that Daniel was the author of Dan. ix, 27, and xii, 11, etc. Some of the critics say that Jesus simply accommodated himself to the current belief of his day, namely, that Daniel wrote the book bearing his name, which is tantamount to saying he perpetuated a fraud. Some of them declare that Jesus did not concern himself about such matters; while some boldly say he did not know any better. Well, I have "not so learned Christ." The testimony of the great Teacher makes an end of all controversy with me. But some of the critics say, It does not matter who wrote the book so long as you have it. But when Jesus tells us who did it does matter who wrote it.

The critics who are leading the present assault upon the belief that Daniel wrote the book bearing his name hold to what they see fit to call "The Near Horizon" view of predictive prophecy; that is, the prophetic seer could not see "afar off." One of them states the case thus: "The prophets were bounded like other men by the horizon of their own views, and occupied themselves only with that future whose rewards and punishments were likely to reach their contemporaries." That is to say, they do not believe there is any predictive prophecy. Consequently

they must bring the date of the Book of Daniel down to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes in order to find a plausible explanation for the predictions found in the book.

The Apocalypse is a summation of all the preceding books composing the Bible. Kliefoth says, "The Apocalypse actually brings nothing more concerning the last things than what is elsewhere found in other Scriptures of the prophets, our Lord's words and the utterances of the apostles." Delitzsch says, "The Apocalypse represents the Old Testament Eschata in their future temporal succession and order. It is, in this respect, the key to the prophetic word." Luthardt says, "Whoever is at home in the prophets will be so in the Apocalypse."

No intelligent interpretation can be given of our Lord's Olivet discourse, the Second Epistles of Thessalonians and Peter, and the Book of Revelation if there are no predictive prophecies beyond the boundary of man's horizon; if Daniel was not written until the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. Daniel and Revelation stand or fall together. If the assailants carry the Church's position in their assaults on the Book of Daniel, the army of the living God will be thrown into confusion as to the outcome of the conflict raging between Christ and Satan, and the Church suffer irreparable hurt.

Of the more than one hundred predictions in Daniel's book quite three fourths have been fulfilled to the letter, the great majority of them centuries after they were made. Daniel foretold the immediate return from Babylon, the building of the second temple, the Maccabean persecution, the coming of Messiah, the rejection of Messiah by the Jewish nation, the destruction of the second temple by the Roman army, the war and desolation decreed upon Jerusalem and the Holy Land, "unto the end" of Israel's sad and weary way. All these and as far as to the present time have been literally accomplished. He foretells the coming of the last Antichrist, the great tribulation, the second coming of Christ in the clouds of heaven, the deliverance of the Jews from Gentile power, the resurrection of the holy dead, the destruction of the Antichrist, and the victory of the kingdom "underneath all heavens." Who that believes the Bible is the word of God will doubt or deny this? And what has been fulfilled is indisputable proof that the rest will be fulfilled no less literally. This is our comfort and hope.

Philadelphia.

L. W. MUNHALL.

"SHALL CHRISTIANITY HAVE A FAIR TRIAL?"

I HEARTILY agree with the sentiments expressed by Dr. Bishop, in a recent issue of the *Methodist Review*, when he affirms that Christianity has never yet been given a fair trial in the world. That Christianity is a power in the earth, that the religion of the Son of God has had much to do in the transformation of human society, that the faith of the Bible has banished to a great extent ignorance and idolatry and superstition

from the earth, there can be no doubt. But there is not a single country in the world to-day that is regarded as a Christian country of which it cannot be said that it is only nominally Christian. The laws of these so-called Christian countries, instead of doing all in their power to discourage vice of all kinds and to encourage virtue of every character, in many instances, at least, encourage vice and discourage virtue. The saloon, which is the hotbed of crime and the mother of infamies, is not only tolerated but legalized by our authorities. The house of prostitution, which leads the unwary feet of many of our youth astray, and which is a menace to modern civilization, threatening the nations with a ruin as terrible as was visited upon the empire of ancient Babylon and that laid the empire of proud Rome in the dust, does not have to wage perpetual warfare in order to exist, but flaunts itself in the faces of the people and defies the power of the churches. Not only is it true that the powers that be do little to check its ravages, but in nearly all of the cities accept money from its promoters to connive at its crimes.

The large business corporations that are backed by vast financial resources, instead of setting a good example for the smaller corporations and the less prominent business men to follow, set an example that is just the opposite. For instance, one of the leading railroad companies of the West does not scruple to advertise Sunday ball games and to run special excursion trains over portions of their track where Sunday traffic is ordinarily an unknown thing, in order that the Sabbath-desecrating public may be accommodated and that others may be given an opportunity to desecrate the Sabbath that might otherwise be spent in attending the services of God's house. And the manager of this company, by the way, has for years been a prominent worker in the Young Men's Christian Association. Christianity sometimes, nay, often, suffers in the homes of its friends.

Christianity has never had the chance that some of the false religions of the world have had. If it were given the chance that Mohammedanism has been given in Turkey, it would soon take the world for Christ. The Turkish government puts forth a studied effort to make it easy for the people of Turkey to be Mohammedans and difficult for them to be anything else religiously. I think that one of the best answers that can be made to those who accuse the churches of not accomplishing all that they say ought to be accomplished is that Christianity has not yet been given a fair chance in the world.

Whether or not Christianity will be given a fair trial in the century that has just opened remains to be seen.

Creighton, Neb.

J. NARVER GORTNER.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.**CATECHISM OF MINISTERIAL COURTESY.**

HIGH civilizations are characterized by the courteous bearing of people toward one another. This relates itself to all social conditions, and especially to professional life. It is well known that all professions have their code of amenities, generally unwritten, yet everywhere recognized as binding on the profession. A very little experience with lawyers and physicians, as well as ministers, will confirm the impression that, in general, they will not violate the code of courtesy existing between the members of the profession, even under strong temptation of personal interest. These laws of courtesy, unwritten though they are, have their bearing on the relations of members of the Christian ministry to one another. They include the bearing of ministers of different denominations toward one another, and the bearing of the ministers of the same denomination toward those of their own fellowship. Very little has been written on the subject. There is a danger sometimes lest the professional courtesies should be pressed to the injury of the service to which the minister is called. This is to be deprecated; and yet it is far better that certain principles of courtesy should be observed than that each person should be a law unto himself.

We propose a brief catechism on this subject, and shall give tentative answers for the consideration of young ministers, leaving each one to enlarge or to modify, as the circumstances in which he is placed seem from time to time to demand. The catechetical method has the advantage of giving clearness to the points under consideration, and enabling the answer to be more definite.

1. What courtesies are due by a pastor to the accidental visit of another minister to his church or congregation?

It not infrequently happens, especially in the summer vacation, that ministers of the Gospel passing hither and thither, and spending the Sunday in some community, naturally attend the service of their own denomination; or it may be that another minister is on a visit to a member of his congregation, and naturally attends the services. If the pastor knows that a fellow-minister is within the limits of his parish it is a courteous thing for him to call on him and pay his respects. There is no obligation, however, to invite him to occupy the pulpit on Sunday. The circumstances, however, must largely determine. Should the visitor be one whose relation to the Church as a whole, or to that particular congregation, would lead the public to expect that he should be heard the pastor will avail himself of the opportunity to secure his services. The absence of an invitation, however, to officiate in the pulpit cannot be taken by the person who is visiting a church as

any indication of discourtesy. The person to whom we are referring is sojourning in a community for his own convenience. He has not come to serve the church; hence a courteous visit on the part of the pastor and a recognition of his presence is all that the amenities of the case require. If, however, the visitor is one of whom he has no knowledge, and whose introduction to him is merely incidental, he should not invite him to preach unless his introduction is of such a character as to assure the preacher that his congregation should hear him.

There are many regular ministers of the Gospel thus coming and going who might well fill a pulpit at the request of the pastor, but the absence of an invitation involves no lack of courtesy. Ministers who are not pastors, nor engaged directly in church work, who come into congregations for business purposes, should neither ask nor receive recognition as preachers before the congregation, but should conduct their work in the same manner as other persons do who are engaged in the same business. The pulpit should not be made the vehicle for the promotion of the personal business of an individual minister except so far as the church itself proposes this method of rendering him a service. The writer remembers a case in his own pastorate when a local preacher came along selling an ointment, no doubt a very good one, through the congregation. Another local preacher brought him to the pastor, with a request that he be permitted to occupy the pulpit. This he declined to do, whereat the seller of the ointment felt that the writer had treated him very discourteously. To have admitted him to the pulpit as a preacher at that time would be simply to make the pulpit an advertising agency, which it was never destined to be.

The pulpit is a sacred position. It is to be protected in its high office. The pastor should not allow it to be used for any propagandism which is not in harmony with the teaching for which it was established. Indeed there is a question of importance as to whether pastors do not place other people in the pulpit at times when he should occupy it himself. He has prepared, perhaps, a special sermon, for a special purpose on a certain day; it is in his heart and on his mind. Why should he fail to give that to his people merely as an act of courtesy to another? Certainly a minister of the average sense which belongs to all ministers of the Gospel would neither want nor expect him to do so. Every minister recognizes the duty of every other one to fulfill his own mission from the standpoint of his own convictions, and not to be turned aside for a mere appearance of courtesy. The writer recalls a time when he was pastor of a church of which the mayor of the town was a leading officer. At times a very eminent minister visited the congregation; and whenever he came the pastor felt it his duty to invite him to preach. The person who was thus invited was a great favorite with the mayor and the people; but one day the former protested against the frequent invitations for the visitor to preach without previous announcement. He declared that the pastor of a church had no more right to invite any

other minister to take his place and do his work than he had to invite the mayor of another city to preside temporarily over the affairs of his city. He insisted upon it that the people went to church to hear their pastor, and that if another person was to occupy the pulpit it should be previously announced so that those who preferred to go elsewhere should have an opportunity to do so. We cannot fully concur in the position thus taken and so broadly stated. What we mean to say then, in answer to the first question, is that every courtesy should be shown to a visiting or sojourning fellow-pastor or preacher, but that the regular duties of the pastor should not be waived except in cases where both courtesy and duty to his people are in harmony.

HOW MAY THE MINISTER SECURE TIME FOR HIS MANY DUTIES?

THE majority of Christian people are not aware of the many and varied duties which fall upon the Gospel preacher in connection with a large pastorate. To many it seems as if the only work of the minister is to preach the Gospel and attend to general pastoral work. In the estimation of many this requires very little time and no great expenditure of strength, either physical or mental. It is a common supposition among the people that the minister does but little work in comparison with the members of other professions. We may well notice some of the work of the minister, and then ask whether the above position is well taken.

First, there is the preparation of two sermons each week. This in itself is more than the labor of a week for one man. A real sermon is the outgrowth of heart, intellect, and spiritual energy, and the preparation of two sermons such as the people will gladly gather to hear is a work of such magnitude that those who are best qualified to perform it shrink from the undertaking. If a person is an inferior preacher he may be able to prepare three sermons a week, but a successful minister regards one sermon as a sufficient tax upon his time and strength. Now when it comes to the preparing and preaching of two sermons each week the burden is almost more than he can bear. If we recall that in addition to preaching two sermons a prayer meeting talk is to be given each week, and that at some periods of the year special services are held, occupying several weeks, the tax upon the minister's physical, intellectual, and spiritual energy will be apparent. There is no part of the minister's work more taxing, nor is there any requiring more skill and ability, than the proper conduct of the prayer meeting. If one would hold the attention of the people the address which he gives should contain the best thoughts that he can command. There are some ministers, indeed, who are more successful at such services than in the pulpit. Both are important, however, and both demand time and care for their proper performance. We may add to this also the frequent calls upon the successful minister for addresses connected with great Church movements. It is true that the minister should be beguiled into outside

addresses as little as possible, but there are certain duties in this direction that his position demands. He is not only pastor of a church, but he is a man in public position and has relations to great public interests, especially the moral and religious. He must join with all Christian workers and brethren generally in meeting these responsibilities. They are no insignificant tax upon an otherwise overworked man.

In this connection also the large number of organized forces in the church which demand the pastor's general supervision should be considered. He is not expected to do their work, nor is he indeed their administrator, but he is in a sense the supervisor of everything that takes place in his church. A wise minister will be careful not to obtrude himself upon organizations controlled and managed by others, but he cannot shirk his responsibility for their conduct. Nor can he cease to be anxious as to the methods employed and the results attained by these agencies. In many cases his active participation is important. Then there are the social duties, which in some charges are so numerous as to demand a great deal of his time. Nor must we omit to mention certain duties which are fundamental to the pastorate. The deep interest which the pastor must have in the welfare of his people; his relations to the sick and the sorrowing make demands upon his energy and time which one unacquainted with the subject can hardly understand. The funeral services of the church in their delicacy often become a matter of great importance and occupy in many charges much of the time of the pastor. All these duties are important, some more, some less, but when put together you have an aggregation of duties and a variety of work such as belongs to no other sphere of labor. The problem is how the minister may have time and strength to meet these calls.

First, He should preserve his health, without which he becomes powerless to do his work. This is especially fitting in the summer season of the year. Ministers are supposed to take vacations varying from four weeks, in most charges, to three months in the large city pastorates. The minister must have respite from labor and from the nervous strain, which such a variety of duties lays upon him. We believe, therefore, that the preservation of health by relaxation and change of scene and cessation of work is an important means of enabling him to meet the demands to which we have already referred. The minister should not usually use his vacation in preaching in other pulpits. It is not wise for him to go away for rest and engage at the same time in intellectual labor or spiritual work. Of course he is to keep alive the spiritual life, but the vacation period should be a time of absolute rest in which to gather strength for his work when he returns home.

Second, In order to have time for his many duties the minister should have system, but not system carried to excess. There is such a thing as a man becoming a bundle of rules and regulations, so that instead of mastering his system his system masters him. There are some who have become so fixed in method that they are not able to meet sudden demands

upon them, and thus are often prevented from doing the good which otherwise they might accomplish. A plan of work is an excellent thing as a guide, but it should not be adhered to when a clear revelation of duty demands its interruption. There can be no system which should prevent a person from seeing an earnest soul who desires religious advice, or from comforting a troubled heart or helping a cause that demands help. System should not be abused. We must remember, however, that without some method no great amount of work can be done.

One who takes care of his health, as above indicated, may work steadily, excepting his hours of ordinary relaxation, if he works with quietness. It is anxiety and rush which cause the difficulty in work. Wesley's maxim, "Always in haste, never in a hurry," is an excellent one. We have known men who seemed never to be in a hurry, and yet they were working all the time. One can save time by having something definite on hand with which to employ his spare moments. For illustration, a person is at home; it is about mealtime, but there is some delay. If he have on the table a book on a subject which he wishes to investigate he can make some progress in five minutes, laying it aside and taking it up again, and thus after a time he will be able to master the subject on which he is engaged.

Then, too, the pastor will save time by not doing unnecessary things. There are some who exhaust themselves by attending conventions and meetings of all kinds which would get along just as well without their presence. It is not hinted that pastors should not attend these gatherings, but they should only attend such as would be helped by their presence. Life is too short to attempt unnecessary things, especially when they are taxing. A careful discrimination between the things we ought to do and the things merely discretionary would help amazingly. To do well what we ought to do, and to do it when it ought to be done, is a safe maxim.

This subject is of importance enough to engage the thought of the young minister. Each minister should take into consideration his own physical condition, his own mental aptitudes, and plan his work and arrange his time accordingly. He can best do this for himself, yet at the same time he will do well to study the lives of men who have accomplished great things in the world. There are men living who are examples of the care of time and energy of which we are now speaking. The biographies of those who have passed away are also fitting illustrations of the same. Let us study the life of John Wesley, who was remarkable in this respect. How carefully his time was planned is shown in his diaries. The life also of Jonathan Edwards, a quiet and a scholarly man, who used his time well, and whose works are almost an astonishment to the reader, is worthy to be emulated. Statesmen innumerable would likewise afford illustrations of the point we are now urging, namely, the value of a suitable arrangement of our time and the proper care of our physical, mental, and spiritual power.

ARCHÆOLOGY AND BIBLICAL RESEARCH

THE "ENCYCLOPÆDIA BIBLICA" AND CRITICISM.

PARADOXICAL as it may sound, we risk the remark that no theologian in the English-speaking world, in recent years, has done more for sober and sound biblical criticism than Canon Cheyne, the editor in chief of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*. This author, posing as the advocate of free thought and rational biblical exegesis, has stood for the past twenty years or more in the closed ranks, may we not say, in the vanguard of the historical biblical critics. He has written with such daring, and has become the exponent of the most radical teachings regarding the Holy Scriptures, that many of those who had championed his cause are amazed, dazed, and disgusted, and are beginning to see the real nature of the barren desert into which this apostle of evolutionary destructive criticism has led them. It is no wonder, therefore, that many are wisely retracing their steps in order to find a more solid foundation upon which to rest their faith. It is because of this reaction that we credit Canon Cheyne with having done so much for sound biblical criticism and evangelical religion. There was a time when he marched side by side with Robertson Smith, but soon he found more congenial company in the society of Wellhausen, the sage of Halle, or now of Göttingen.

To appreciate the distance between Cheyne and Robertson Smith one has only to compare the articles on biblical subjects in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* and the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Those of Smith are conservative in contrast with the latest utterances of Canon Cheyne. We have no desire to criticise the *Encyclopædia Biblica* unduly, or to depreciate the value of the many fine articles written in this great work. Some of them are models in every sense of the word, especially those on geography, natural history, domestic and national customs, and kindred topics, where the writer has to cling to facts. The work, nevertheless, is a very dangerous one to fall into the hands of the untrained biblical student, or of young men and young women who have come into contact with teachers who lose no opportunity to sneer at orthodoxy. Such men are found even in nominally Christian schools. Indeed, the saddest thing about this book is that it proceeds from an ordained minister of the Anglican Church, who, no doubt, often leads a congregation in the prayers of the Church of England, wherein the inspiration of the Scriptures is taught and the belief in the deity of Jesus Christ is clearly expressed. If we understand the position of the editor of the *Encyclopædia Biblica* aright, both these cardinal doctrines of the Christian Church are denied.

The publishing of this new Bible dictionary will lead many persons to see that Canon Cheyne and his school cannot be trusted as religious

leaders. The advanced ideas of the most radical critics have been largely incorporated in this encyclopedia, and, directly, it will prove of immense value to the Church. It has already served as an eye opener to many who were on the edge of a precipice. It has not only called a halt, but has caused a hasty retreat. Numberless protests have gone up from pulpit and press, and the warnings are proving beneficial.

The question is no longer whether Moses wrote the Pentateuch, or whether there were only one or two or a dozen Isaiahs, but rather whether the Bible is any different from any other book. It is no longer whether the first chapters of Genesis and the story of Israel in Egypt and the wilderness contain history, but whether the doctrine of the incarnation, the miraculous birth and resurrection of Jesus Christ can be accepted as facts worthy of our faith. Or, as Dr. Dale puts it, "It is not a theory of ecclesiastical polity which is in danger, it is not a theological system, it is not a creed, it is not the Old Testament or the New, but the claim of Christ himself to be the Son of God and the Saviour of mankind. The real question is, Is Christendom to believe in Christ any longer or no?" But lest we misrepresent the work we criticise let it speak for itself.

We read in the preface of Vol. I that the sympathy of the editors is "upon the whole with advanced criticism, without any desire 'to boycott' moderate criticism when a critic has something original to say." Professor Smith is classed with the moderate critics, and we are told that had he lived to the present time the probability is "his ardor would have waned and his precedence passed to others." We are also told that his articles in the *Britannica* are not advanced enough for the present state of criticism. Hence the numerous revisions.

Professor Cheyne feels the lack of a scientific handbook of New Testament theology, for, according to him, we have no such at present. "Unfortunately," says he, "the literary and historical criticism of the New Testament is by no means as far advanced as that of the Old Testament." This sentence was doubtless written before Professor Schmiedel's article on the gospels had been written. As might be expected, most of Genesis is regarded as poetical, legendary, or mythical, without even a trace of historical basis. Even very radical critics till recently regarded Abraham and most of the patriarchs after him as real historical characters, but Canon Cheyne assures us that Abraham is "not so much an historic personage as an ideal type of character." . . . "The traditions regarding him in Gen. xi, 27-xxv, 18, are certainly not historical but legendary. The framework of the narrative may be derived from myths and legends, but the spirit comes from the ideals stored up in the minds of the narrators." We are therefore not to regard Abraham as a person who really lived, even though there may be a kernel of tradition in the narrative. The marriage of Abraham and Sarah is a symbol of a political fusion "between a southern Israelitish tribe and non-Israelitish clans to the south of Hebron. The relation of Abraham and Hagar has a political

meaning for the close intercourse between Egypt, Palestine, and parts of Arabia. The separation of Abraham and Lot may be but a foreshadowing of the separation of Israel and Moab.

Isaac: "It is customary to suppose that Isaac was originally at once a tribal name and a divine title." At any rate, he was a deity worshiped by the pastoral tribes as "the divine patron of Beer-sheba."

"Ishmael, the son of Abram, is the personification of a group of tribes who were regarded as near kinsmen of the Israelites." And Hagar is likewise "no doubt a personification of a tribe or district." That she appears "as the slave woman is a necessary consequence of the theory upon which the Hebrew myth is based."

Jacob is the name, "not of an individual, but of the imaginary ancestor of a tribe."

Joseph: The writer of the story of Joseph "had to write the life of the founder of the people of Israel, how, therefore, could we expect even a moderate degree of historical impartiality?"

The article on Israel is written by Professor Guthe, of Leipsic. He tells us that the fully organized Israel of the land of Canaan did not exist at the beginning of the wilderness journey, but that several of the tribes came together later. Which of the twelve tribes visited Egypt is not known, but as several of them had no existence previous to the exodus, all of them did not. The object of the narrative concerning this period is purely didactic. Moses, a shepherd in the service of Jethro, was not the author of the Pentateuch, nor lawgiver in the traditional sense. He probably did establish some laws which served as precedents in later ages, but what these were no one can tell.

Joshua: "The historical character of Joshua as an individual is doubtful. Whether the name Joshua is a pure invention or has its origin in a clan name, the actions ascribed to Joshua are purely legendary." So much for the Old Testament. Let us now briefly turn over to the New. Whoever has followed the critics during the past few years has been compelled to see that the most radical of them had no sympathy with revealed religion. They have gone on from step to step, until they reject both prophecy and miracles, not only in the Old but also in the New Testament. They talk eloquently of the divinity of Jesus, while rejecting the deity of Christ. They will hear nothing of the preexistence, miraculous conception, and resurrection of Christ, nor of the doctrines of the Holy Spirit, conversion, and regeneration.

The article on faith in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* has no reference to the atonement, the death, or resurrection of our Saviour. The article on Jesus by the late Dr. A. B. Bruce is not disappointing, for we have no right to expect anything in this book at variance with Unitarian doctrines. The life of Jesus is written much in the same spirit as would be the life of any good man and great teacher. Dr. Bruce has not a word to say of the birth of our Lord, the angelic appearances are passed over in silence. In speaking of the passion of Christ he says, "Even in its most historic

version, it is not pure truth, but truth mixed with doubtful legend." He admits that the primitive disciples believed that Jesus rose from the dead on the third day. In speaking of the gospels he says that they "are of a varying value from an historical point of view," and adds that many critics think the gospel of John "is the least trustworthy, as a source, both of the acts and words of Jesus." No one of the four gospels possesses a uniform degree of historical probability. Whether Dr. Bruce believed in the miraculous element in Christ's life is more than we can say. Evidently, however, the question of miracles was distasteful to him. In speaking of the healing ministry of Jesus he says, "Whether miraculous or not, whether the works of a mere man, or of one who is a man and more, these healing acts are a revelation of the love of Jesus." Dr. Bruce did not reach these negative results at once, but very gradually. His course shows the dangers of evolutionary destructive criticism.

But probably the most objectionable article so far published in the encyclopedia is that on the gospels by Dr. Schmiedel. Here we have a splendid illustration of a critic applying Old Testament methods to the New. The critics have told us that the Pentateuch is a patchwork, without a single line of undoubted Mosaic origin. And now Christ is ruled out of the gospels, for, according to this learned Zurich professor, the gospels, like the Pentateuch, are a bad mixture of fiction, allegory, and metaphor. They have less than half a dozen absolutely credible passages about Jesus. These are: (1) "Why callest thou me good? none is good save one, even God" (Mark x, 18). (2) The passage in Matt. xii, 31 f., where we read that blasphemy against the Son of man can be forgiven. (3) The passage in Mark iii, 21, where it is said that Jesus's relatives held him to be beside himself. (4) The passage in Mark xiii, 32, which reads, "Of that day or that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father." (5) "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" (Matt. xxvii, 46.) To these he adds four passages (Mark viii, 12; vi, 5; Matt. xi, 5; Luke vii, 22). The object of these four is to show that Christ did not work miracles. The professor does not deny the possibility of miracles, but says that everyone must have some doubt of the gospel account of them, "for it is not entitled to implicit acceptance." There were doubtless marvelous cures and some revivifications. But the accounts are greatly exaggerated. Often what was simply a metaphor or allegory is stated as a fact. This was the case in regard to the raising of Lazarus and the woman's son. The accounts we have of the resurrection of Jesus are so conflicting as to render belief in them impossible. It will be seen that the author is not in sympathy with evangelical doctrines.

The book will do no great harm, indeed it will be productive of much good; for it reveals the real animus as well as the untenable teachings of the more radical destructive critics.

MISSIONARY REVIEW.

THE CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT IN KOREA.

THE Koreans are astir in the matter of accepting Christianity. This causes comment among non-Christian Koreans. Some attempt to analyze and condemn the motives of those abandoning their patriarchal faith. We find, translated to our hand, a specimen of this sort of invective from the daily newspaper published in Seoul, the capital of the country. There are twenty indictments, if one may so call them, or natural, secular, and selfish reasons why Koreans become Christians: (1) Because others told them to; (2) to get the sugar promised for doing so; (3) to obtain medicine; (4) to obtain money; (5) to secure better official position; (6) because their parents did so; (7) to get power; (8) to escape the tax collector; (9) to get away from the jurisdiction of the prefect; (10) to escape from the persecution of the peddler's guild; (11) to escape the private inspectors; (12) to escape taxation; (13) to get quit of the continual importunities of Christians to join their ranks; (14) to escape arrest; (15) to be able to steal with impunity; (16) to escape the consequences of having been a Tong Hak (we do not understand what this means); (17) to have an opportunity to play; (18) because many handsome women have entered the Church; (19) because they say, "I shall see heaven;" (20) in order to have an opportunity to ride upon the clouds and see the Four Seas.

Some of these allusions are to the practices of Roman Catholic priests, who secure political and other privileges to their converts, and work mischief thereby, just as they have done in China, and as they originally did in Japan till the nation drove them from the land. In connection with this movement edicts were posted everywhere against any Christian coming to Japan—edicts which have only recently been removed or become inoperative.

That there may be ground for some of these specifications is quite supposable. Few men in any country have wholly unmixed motives, and the Roman Catholic and Protestant missions are treated *en bloc* in this editorial, while they are far from being parallel in their aims or motives, their methods or results. Even the best of these converts are not, presumably, mature saints, with centuries of heathen influences in their veins, and it is not quite fair to expect of them a higher average of Christian experience, motive, or living than obtains in the best communions at home. We can perhaps do no better in the way of rejoinder to these charges than to refer those having access to the *Korean Review*, published monthly in Seoul, Korea, as a general literary, secular, and religious magazine, to the June number for 1901, page 263, for some assuring statements made editorially, having no

reference to the statements of the daily paper alluded to. The editor says that in fifteen years past between eight and ten thousand Koreans have joined the Christian Churches of the Protestant communion of that land, including men of every class from the highest to the lowest. In the majority of instances their uniting with Christians has occasioned them pecuniary sacrifice. These adherents have contributed generously of their money to build chapels and schools in scores of country villages, and have suffered financial loss from their observance of the Sabbath. They have rejected the custom of concubinage, broken down the barriers of caste, discouraged child marriage, destroyed their fetiches, established schools, published books, and have given almost as much money, in proportion to their means, as the average of nominally Christian people in any other country in the world for the Indian Famine Relief. Not more than two per cent of them have received salaries out of foreign funds, and then only for value received. We do not wonder that the editor concludes that these results are worth the money and the labor expended, judged wholly from a sociological standpoint, and that he considers them unaccountable, except as the result of a moral and spiritual change. He is warranted in his hopefulness that the peculiar power which has wrought these results will be self-propagating on a larger scale in the future, and that it will ultimately change vastly for the better the whole social fabric of Korea. The results already wrought are wonderful in view of the comparatively small pittance of missionary money contributed by Christian lands to the mission work in the Land of the Morning Calm. Presbyterians and Methodists of America have been the chief Protestant agents in the inauguration of this cheering work, which has developed with surprising rapidity combined with self-reliance and self-propagation.

PROHIBITION OF MISSIONARIES IN THE SOUDAN.

It is widely known that Lord Kitchener secured a prohibition of missionaries entering the Soudan after the subjugation of the Mahdi. As a military measure of temporary force there would be little disposition to controvert his judgment, but the extension of this limitation to a settled state of civil rule puts the British government in a remarkable attitude as the exponent of religious liberty. It is the more worthy of attention in view of the outright failure of a similar policy in India under the East India Company's rule, and the administration by a governor general. That company at first sought to prevent any missionary from attempting to evangelize the people, and drove Newell and Judson beyond their bounds. The terrible vengeance which was visited on this policy by the Indian mutiny wrecked the company, and the new order of religious neutrality was inaugurated. This has never been the cause of any serious antagonism by the non-Christian populations of India. They respect rulers who are consistent Christians and who seek

to justly administer the policy of religious freedom. The strength of the British government in India lies in its wise and impartial administration according to this principle. No European ever gained such respect and influence among the peoples of the Upper Nile as Gordon, whom they all knew as a devout and zealous Christian, and who even asked the Bishop of Exeter if he, Gordon, might baptize the people in the absence of clergymen.

A writer in the *London Times* in 1900, well versed in all the conditions, writing on the "Opening of the Soudan," said: "It was the followers of the Mahdi who murdered Gordon. It was the Mahdi whose tomb and body we destroyed. It was to heal this feud, to atone for all this violence, to bear the reconciling Christian message to the Mahdists that the missionaries sought to enter the Soudan. It is this work that they have been forbidden to attempt."

Admiration has been expressed at the enlightened policy of the British in the Soudan in its exceeding impartiality exhibited in the departments of finance and justice, and the Christian public of Great Britain wish to see the same attitude taken in the department of religion. Strict impartiality is the correct attitude for the Soudan, where the population is divided in its religious convictions. Prohibition of missionary work in the Soudan is inconsistent with religious neutrality, which Britons have stoutly proclaimed in their colonies. It has been subject of criticism that even in lower Egypt the government has failed in justice to the Christian Copts, who number one in ten of the population, in that it provides schools where the Koran is taught and does not so provide for schools where the Bible is taught.

We, in common with the Protestant world, feel, with the *Times* correspondent already quoted, that "it is to be hoped that the government may eventually see its way to modify" its restrictions of missionary work up the Nile valleys, for it is not easy to point to more successful missionary work than that of Americans from Cairo to Khartoum.

The Church of England Missionary Society, which does not propose to let this restriction continue without protest, memorialized the principal secretary for foreign affairs upon the position of their society in the Egyptian Soudan. It is interesting to note their line of argument. They claim that the principle of religious liberty involves the right to engage in missionary work in any part of the British dominions or spheres of influence which are not subject to treaty limitations. Any Christian ought to have the right to become a Moslem, and any Moslem to become a Christian; any Moslem missionary ought to be free to preach Islam, and any Christian missionary to preach the Gospel, subject only to necessary regulations for preserving the peace. They fail to see that the policy of restriction of missionary effort in the Egyptian Soudan is either necessary or wise. The precedent of the Punjab is the basis of their argument. Here was a

fanatical Moslem community, recently conquered, among whom the British government permitted the missionaries freely to enter. Their officers contributed to the success of the enterprise, and designed and erected necessary buildings for the missions. Even at Peshawar, among the fiercest of Moslem populations, the missions received the direct sanction and cooperation of the British commissioner. No evil results followed, and the Punjab became the strongest arm of defense of the British in the mutiny. His province has ever since remained one of the most peaceful and prosperous provinces in all India. The distinguished men who ruled it were pronounced in their religious profession and proclivities, and Moslems, Sikhs, and Hindus came to know their strict impartiality in dealing with all religions. The society asserts that the perils in the Egyptian Soudan against adopting a similar policy there cannot be greater than those of the Punjab in 1849. And they believe it would be wise to substitute that course for the present one of restriction.

ATTENTION has been turned with renewed interest to the sources from which the Koran was derived. Rev. W. St. Clair Tisdall, a missionary of Persia, has published a pamphlet recently showing how many of the rites and ceremonies of the Koran were borrowed from pagan Arabs, how much of it are distinctly of Jewish origin, and what was derived from Christian heresy. He carries his research into fields less commonly entered to trace even the elements of Zoroastrianism and other ancient faiths. Sir William Muir (*The Nineteenth Century*, December, 1900) thinks the successful exposition of the actual sources whence Mohammed compiled his so-called revelations tends to cause his claims to fall to the ground. Mr. Tisdall has at least placed in the hands of missionaries to Mohammedans a keen-edged weapon, but experience has tended to show that controversy is of comparatively small avail in winning Moslems to Christ. It has its value, however, but this work of Mr. Tisdall's will be of interest to many Christian students. The title is *Yanabi ul Islam*. It would have its worth if rendered into English, for a class of readers unacquainted with Persian.

WILL the Methodist Church realize sufficient encouragement from the utterance of the Lord Bishop of Newcastle about the success of American missions in India, to rally to our India work, so that it may not be necessary to part with large sections of it because we cannot sustain it without larger appropriations? The archbishop said, "God has blessed our labors in India, and yet so far more has America realized the need of winning India to Christ that, a hundred years hence, if England and America send out missionaries to India in the same proportion as during the past thirty years, India will owe its Christianity more to America, with its various Christian bodies than to all the societies of Great Britain and Ireland combined."

FOREIGN OUTLOOK.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

Emil Sulze. He made his reputation among Germans in 1892 by his work on the Evangelical Congregation. Here we take him as a representative of a certain type of theological thinking as portrayed in his recent work, entitled *Wie ist der Kampf um die Bedeutung der Person und des Wirkens Jesu zu been digen?* (How shall the Dispute concerning the Significance of the Person and Work of Jesus be brought to an End?) Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1901. Were it not for the danger of being misunderstood as a fling at the author, it would be proper to say that he thinks the dispute can be ended only by having all come to his opinion of Christology, which amounts, in fact, to robbing Christ of his place at the center of the Christian system. According to Sulze, Jesus was one of a series of human beings who have been given the new life direct from God, whence all must receive it if they are to have it. The principal difference between Jesus and others is that he had this life in the highest degree. Turning to the question of the dispute, it is, to say the least, doubtful whether anything would be gained were it ended. The controversies that are now raging certainly indicate that Jesus is the greatest and most important personage in all history to all thinking persons. Theologians do not especially wish for the ending of these controversies. Religionists can keep their feeling for Christ alive only by clearly conceiving him in their thought, and if controversy were at an end concerning him, one of the best means to the desired result would be lacking. The most that can be wished for in this direction would be a change, so that either one of a couple of views of Christ might be religiously fruitful. But neither the thorough theologian nor the religionist will be satisfied with Sulze's theory of the person and work of Christ. According to him the strongest antichristian force of to-day is atheism, and atheism in turn he regards as the result of the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity and of the Atonement, the former as destroying any vital concept of God, and the latter as destroying our sense of moral responsibility. This view of the origin of atheism is plainly erroneous, since atheism is not a reaction against a certain view of God, but a product of certain theories of the origin of the world and the nature of man. Before there was a doctrine of Trinitarianism there was atheism. Besides, it is a singular oversight in Sulze when he does not see that in proportion as the doctrine of Unitarianism is prominent in any community atheism, theoretical and practical, prevails. Doubtless it is true that often the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity is held in such a way as to render its virtue as a religious nutritive void; but there is no form of the denial of the Trinity whose logical outcome is not

destructive of vital piety. Fortunately many such deniers are logically inconsistent, and their piety is saved.

Johannes Weiss. In a recent review of a book by Professor Arthur Titius (see *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1901, Nr. 10, Spalt 259-264) he discusses the relation of the teaching of Paul to that of Jesus. Titius had undertaken to show that the relationship was that of dependence on the part of Paul. Weiss admits that Titius has succeeded in showing the similarity of the religious and ethical views of Paul to those of Jesus, and even that he has brought out new facts in this regard. Still he thinks that the accord between Paul and Jesus is not as great as Titius holds, and that the harmony in many instances is made to depend upon doubtful interpretations. Then, too, he suggests that in many instances of apparent harmony between Paul and Jesus there is no sufficient reason to regard Paul as dependent upon Jesus, but rather to suppose that both were affected by the common religious atmosphere. He thinks we know the Judaism of that time too imperfectly to assert with any great definiteness what was absolutely new in the teaching of Jesus. The whole domain is so uncertain that he inclines to skepticism rather than assurance as to Paul's dependence upon Jesus. Taking up specific points, Weiss says that Paul's doctrine of the compassion of God toward the sinner, and of divine grace, are almost wholly wanting in the recorded teaching of Jesus. We do not admit the truth of this; but if it were a fact, it would not prove that Paul was independent of Jesus, but merely that he was not dependent in this particular instance. Again, he says that Jesus's conception of God is more harmonious, peaceful, and humane than that of Paul, and compares in proof the saying of Jesus that God lets the sun shine upon the evil and the good with the expression of Paul regarding vessels of grace and of wrath. He finds in the idea of the filial relation to God as taught respectively by Jesus and Paul a distinct difference: with the former it is something natural and easily acquired; with the latter it is reached only by struggle. Also in God as Father of Jesus Christ Weiss sees a difference between Jesus and Paul, the former making it a natural relationship, the latter making it depend upon the will of God. These illustrations will suffice to exhibit the position of Weiss. It must be noted that in no instance is there a contradiction between Paul and Jesus, but merely such a variation of the putting as tended to accomplish the specific end that each had in view. Weiss is noted for his emphasis on the religious atmosphere as influencing Jesus, and he now applies the same theory to Paul; but unless it be supposed that Jesus expected his disciples to follow his teachings slavishly, Paul could not have come closer to the teaching of Jesus. The great reason, however, for thinking that Paul got his ideas from Jesus rather than from the general religious atmosphere is that Paul was a disciple of Jesus and naturally got his teaching from him.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

Glaubensregel, Heilige Schrift und Taufbekenntniss. Untersuchungen über die dogmatische Autorität, ihr Werden und ihre Geschichte, vornemlich in der alten Kirche (The Rule of Faith, Holy Scriptures, and Baptismal Confession. Researches concerning the Origin and History of the Authority of Dogmas, especially in the Ancient Church). By Johannes Kunze. Leipzig, Dörfling and Franke, 1899. The early Church continues to be a subject of prime interest to Church historians, and since the renewal of the controversy relative to the origin of the Apostles' Creed a few years ago works bearing on that general theme have been numerous. Of these the book by Kunze is one of the best. His investigations have led him to the opinion that the first real occasion for a rule of faith in the Church arose in connection with Marcion and the Gnostics generally, and that the rule of faith was the so-called Apostles' Creed. From the very first, or at any rate after the apostolic age, the Church had its sacred Scriptures and its Baptismal confession. These, however, were not mechanically unchangeable in form. Substantially the Church everywhere had the same Old and New Testament writings, and everywhere the Church baptized only when a confession of faith had been made which was essentially the same in all places, and corresponded closely to what is known as the old Roman symbol. The Baptismal Confession was the briefest possible summary of the contents of the Holy Scriptures, and was used on occasions when the individual wished to sum up briefly what the Church believed. By reference to the Scriptures the formula could be enlarged as needed for polemical purposes. Or it could be abbreviated by reducing it to the threefold divine name of the formula of baptism. Even the Gnostics had the same sacred Scriptures as the orthodox Christians and no others; while they used the same formula of baptism as the orthodox. To the writer of this review this seems exceedingly doubtful.

The Gnostics, if we may trust Eusebius and other early writers, had Scriptures not used by the orthodox, and there were certainly some of the heretics who baptized differently from the orthodox. Kunze held also that the Church emphasized in opposition to the heretics that no secret tradition was valid alongside of the Scripture tradition, and that in the writings which were read in the meetings for divine worship there was contained the whole treasure of apostolic doctrine; also that the creed or confession, in its plain meaning, was adapted to be a guide to each Christian as to the contents of the Old and New Testaments. Thus up to the fourth century the Scripture was really the standard of doctrine for the Church; but after the Council of Nice the symbol or creed took the place of Scripture. From that time on Tertullian's idea prevailed, that heresy must be measured and fought by the use of the creed. Thus the Scripture was supplanted, with all the evil attending upon that outcome.

The Case of Göhre. That a pastor should forfeit his rights and immunities by voluntarily severing his connection with the German State Church is a comparatively small matter. One among the thousands would scarcely be missed. But Göhre's case involves a principle which raises it to a place of the first significance. For a long time Göhre had sympathized deeply with the laboring classes of Germany and with the aims of the Social Democrats so far as the elevation of the masses was concerned. Still he professedly held fast to Christianity. As time went on he became convinced that there was a vast difference between the Church and religion, and that the union of the Church and State was the chief hindrance to a revival of interest in Christianity among the Social Democrats. Thus his sympathies remained with the Social Democrats on the one side and with Christianity on the other, while they became less and less influential in binding him to the Church. Being invited by the ecclesiastical authorities to give up that which he no longer prized, namely, the position of a minister in the State Church, he granted their request. Göhre had felt that the laboring classes were in large measure finally lost to the Church. If there was any doubt in the minds of others, that doubt must now be removed. It is wholly unlikely that the Social Democrats will understand the polite invitation of the Church authorities to Göhre to resign his ministerial calling because of his attitude toward them as anything short of a declaration that the Church has no mission to them as long as they remain Social Democrats. The breach appears hopeless. But while it is probable that the State Church has finally lost the adherence of the vast numbers who adhere to Social Democracy, it is within the bounds of possibility and even of probability that they will be more open to the influence of Christianity than before. If Göhre will remain a true Christian as well as a friend of the laboring classes, he may yet do far more for the establishment of the kingdom of Christ than he could have done as a minister of the State Church.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

Der Ursprung des Monchthums (The Origin of Monasticism). By Daniel Völter. Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1900. The question discussed in this book is far more important from the practical point of view than it at first sight appears to be. Monasticism in its manifestations during the Middle Ages was simply organized asceticism. So that the all-important question is, whether there was anything in the teaching of Jesus or in the proclamation of the Gospel by the earliest Christians which would necessarily lead to monasticism. In other words, whether the New Testament records contain an ascetic element. Völter rejects all theories hitherto offered in explanation of the origin of monasticism as being insufficient and one-sided. He regards the *Vita Antonii* as the work of Athanasius, but he thinks it must be very cautiously

used as a source of information; especially since our Greek text is nothing but a modified form of the original. Coming to the question of the work attributed to Philo, *de vita contemplation*, as a source of information relative to the origin of monasticism, Völter holds that Philo is not its author, that it arose about the middle of the second century, and that it was the work of a Judaistic-Hellenistic reformer, having nothing to do with the origin of Christian monasticism. Völter is of the opinion that the ascetic impulse so early manifest in the Church is not sufficient to account for monasticism, although he admits that the unsatisfactory ecclesiastical situation gave intensity to that impulse. This ecclesiastical situation did not, therefore, according to Völter, cause the world-fleeing tendency. Nor will Neoplatonism nor the monasticism of the serapis cult explain the introduction of monasticism into the life of the Church, though both of them have their significance. It is the belief of Völter that the Circumcellions of North Africa, of whom we hear in connection with the Donatist controversy, will help us in discovering the origin of monasticism in Christian circles. These Circumcellions were ascetics who renounced marriage and who wandered from place to place in large unorganized bands denouncing all political, civil, and social institutions with fanatical hate as the kingdom of Satan. It is plain that this was in large measure a socialistic movement, and hence Völter concludes that monasticism is in a good degree originally a chapter out of the history of the great social question. In other words, monasticism was born in that instant in which the social degradation of the time, or rather the consciousness of it, was united with the ascetic tendency. That Völter has given us a couple of new suggestions here there can be no doubt. Perhaps, also, they have considerable value. It certainly appears probable that a combination of ascetic tendency, discontent with the Church, and a sense of the miseries of the social life of the time would better account for the world-fleeing disposition than would the first two causes without the addition of the last. Still the connection with the Circumcellions does not seem to explain anything except the union of these three elements, while the Circumcellion phenomena differ so widely from monasticism as to raise more difficulties than they explain.

SUMMARY OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

The Bookman (New York) for August notices at some length Mrs. Annie Nathan Meyer's book, *Robert Annys, Poor Priest. A Tale of the Great Uprising*, published by The Macmillan Company. The great uprising referred to in the title is the movement in England toward the close of the fourteenth century, the movement of which Wat Tyler, John Ball, and Jack Straw were the best known leaders; an uprising the immediate cause of which was the dire poverty, at that time, of English artisans and laborers, and the purpose of which was to abolish villainage and the oppressive capitation tax and obnoxious restrictions which had been put upon commerce and upon the free migration from place to place of persons in search of manual employment. At the period pictured in Mrs. Meyer's book the teachings of Wyclif and the Lollards had excited indignation against those churchmen whose proud and luxurious lives showed an insolent indifference to the sufferings of the miserably poor. Robert Annys is a priest, a high-strung, imaginative man, who championed the cause of the despised and suffering peasantry, and in defiance of ecclesiastical authority urged on the great insurrection, not to despoil the rich nor to overthrow the state, but to reach and rouse the conscience of the king so that he would take notice of the woes of his poorest subjects and afford them redress and relief. *The Bookman* thinks the most impressive figure in the book is Thomas of Ely, the great bishop, loyal alike to his Church and to his country, an English patriot though a devout Catholic, wise, gentle, far-seeing, liberal, and patient, recognizing the weaknesses of our common humanity, and willing to work with imperfect instruments toward the attainment of perfection. His answer to the defiant appeal of Robert Annys is called a noble apologia for the Church, and contains such words as these: "The Church is a more intricate matter than any one Book or any one Rule. Why, think you, was it that the wolves of the North, as St. Jerome well calls them, those wild tribes of Franks and Burgundians, of Vandals and Goths and Visigoths, savage as was their onslaught, yet paused in the face of Rome? Was it not because the churchmen at that critical time were not idle dreamers, but the greatest statesmen the world ever saw? Was it not to the early bishops that the world was forced to look for its strong counselors and rulers when the reins of government were slipping from the weak hands of all others? . . . If the people have wrongs, they should be righted from within the Church. They have no better friend than the Church. It has been the one institution which has cared for the individual, sought him out, and conferred upon him inestimable benefits, temporal and spiritual, while asking of him only such service as he could well render it. In its bosom it has held the divine spark of the doctrine of the equality of all

men, and has kept it there and protected it in ages when the world was not yet ready for it. The Church has preserved and cherished it until it will some day be a flame great enough to light the torch of universal freedom."

The Fortnightly Review (London and New York) for September prints "An Open Letter to Lord Rosebery" from an evident admirer, who appeals to Rosebery on behalf of England's needs. It would be interesting to overhear Mr. Chamberlain's mental comments on this letter, which says to Rosebery: "You are both the apostle and the martyr of Liberal unity. . . . The country is acquainted with your general ideas, which it has found so fresh, suggestive, and quickening. All the stimulation that your eloquent and pungent commentary on political conditions and ideals can exert has already been exercised. You have added more ideas to contemporary politics than anyone since Lord Beaconsfield. What the country desires from you now are constructive proposals, a definite program, and the potent leadership, which not only formulates general principles with the imagination, humor, and magnetic force you possess, but fastens upon particular methods. Your message to the country has been, 'Action, Action, Action!' And that is now the message of the country to you. . . . The only personality through which Liberalism can hope to appeal to the nation against Mr. Chamberlain's is yours. The characteristic moral force of Liberalism in the past depended on its power to search the national conscience. Mr. Chamberlain's profound deficiency is the entire absence of that power. The place of ethical fervor, believe me, has not passed away from politics. Beyond all men prominent in public life, except Mr. John Morley, you have the authentic impulse born of social insight and sympathy. When you plead for the wretched, the suffering, the poor, you move men, you agitate. In that mood of eloquence you can trouble and lift the heart of the nation with something of the lyric cry, communicating a fine inspiration to the imperial idea. England needs you if the clotted Philistinism of a vulgar and vaunting sense of Empire is to be displaced and dissolved." The letter then points out to Lord Rosebery that England's school facilities should be made similar and equal to those of Germany; that there is now a sounder basis than ever before for temperance legislation which should be necessary to national efficiency and to the soundness of the empire at the heart; that better housing of the working classes and prompt removal of condemned tenements is an urgent matter; and that in South Africa there ought to be federation at the earliest possible moment after the war, substituting a British ideal of unity for the republican ideal of separation. In the same number W. H. Mallock begins a discussion of "Religion and Science at the Dawn of the Twentieth Century," in which Haeckel is put forward as the spokesman for science, and it is represented that the opposition of science to religion is not, to-day, that of a materialistic doctrine to a

spiritual, but of a monistic doctrine to a dualistic. The battle of monist and dualist rages over the problem of the origin of life and the problem of the beginning of consciousness. And the solution and deciding of those problems is supposed both by monists, like Haeckel, and by dualists, like the theologians, to have much to do with the question of the validity of religion. But Mallock insists that the questions over which monist and dualist are contending have no bearing whatever on the problems of religion. If the dualist proves his point, it does not validate the postulates of theistic religion—a conscious, righteous, benevolent God, an immortal human soul, and eternal moral relations between God and man. And if the monist proves his view, he will do nothing whatever toward destroying what Haeckel calls the “three great buttresses” of religion—a personal God, an immortal soul, and a will free and independent, not controlled by the natural causes which control the inorganic and lower organic world. Mr. Mallock asserts that the controversy between religion and science begins *not* with the phenomena of life, *but* with the doctrine of a *life that is immortal*; *not* with the fact and phenomena of consciousness, *but* with the doctrine that *the will is free*. And we may add that the whole question of man's nature and possible destiny pivots down at last upon the question of the freedom of the will. If that freedom be a reality, then man is a being outside of and above the order of the inorganic world and may have an exceptional destiny. If, further, he has a moral and spiritual nature which differentiates him from the brutes, he may have, he is likely to have, a destiny different from and higher than theirs. Such are some of the reasonings which lay the intellectual foundations of religion. An article on the Dowager Empress Frederick, recently deceased, shows that the tragedy of her life was that she was an English woman in Germany, as her father, the prince consort, Albert, was a German in England. She lacked tact, and irritated the Germans by making unpleasant comparisons between things English and things German. She lacked the ability to tolerate disagreeables that constitutes at once the high breeding and genuine *bonhomie* of royal personages. At a military review on the Tempelhofer field she made her footman order a man to cease smoking because the odor annoyed her. Her mother, Queen Victoria, would never have done such a thing; she would not have asserted her authority, and she would have preserved her dignity and composure. The Empress Frederick was generally at odds with Bismarck. Once, when he handed her a glass of water, she said to her lady in waiting, “He has cost me more tears than that glass could hold.” She vexed and embarrassed Bismarck and Von Moltke by trying to postpone and prevent the bombardment of Paris in 1871, when Germany was in danger of losing by such delay one half the fruits of a costly victory. She kept Bismarck always growling against petticoat influences. Mr. Benham's article brutally says that it was counted lucky for Germany that Unser Fritz died so soon after becoming emperor, because of the influence his wife

had over him. There was at one time a marked estrangement between her and her eldest son, the present emperor, because the son distrusted and disliked his mother's influence over his father, believing it harmful to the nation. Because of all this there was little happiness for her or for the German court. Yet, she was pure and high-minded, as even Bismarck conceded, notwithstanding the lifelong hostility between them. He said the old Empress Augusta was untruthful, but that the Princess Frederick was sincere, unaffected, and honorable. And on the grave of Queen Victoria's daughter amid the lakes and trees of Potsdam, as on the mother's at Windsor, there is no shadow of dishonor.

IN *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* (New York) for October, the editor, Dr. Gilder, who is himself a constant force for public purity and civic righteousness, writes of "The Desperate Plight of New York City." He says that the condition of affairs in our American metropolis, the second city of the world in wealth and population, is such as would not be tolerated in any European city; that, if it were discovered in London that the heads of police in that city were blackmailing every form of vice, and being supported in the infamy by the ruling powers of the community, throngs of aroused citizens would quickly converge on Trafalgar Square and the Mansion House, and before the scandal was many hours old every official even indirectly implicated would have his resignation, or his official head, in the basket, or the British throne itself would begin to shake. Of Croker, the brigand chief, who loots New York, avowedly "working all the time for his own pocket," and then, more wary and cunning than Tweed, retires with his plunder to the safe shelter of the British throne, Dr. Gilder says that he is an unparalleled example of political power and audacity, an absentee autocrat ruling three millions of American citizens from his favorite seat beyond the sea, returning to the city he governs only now and then at harvest time to gather more spoils and insure the perpetuation of his absolute control. Most of the time he hides safely in an English paradise, denies himself to all except a few favored lieutenants who have the password to his lair, delegates others to serve as his proxy in the prison cell where he belongs, and makes and unmakes by a word the men who collect millions of tribute alike from those who want merely the privilege of obeying the laws in peace and from those purveyors of vice who desire peacefully to break the laws. New York city is now engaged in a desperate effort to overthrow this malignant mastery at the ballot box. Soon after this is printed the result of the tremendous struggle will be known. In the same number of *The Century* Mrs. Maria S. Porter writes of Thomas William Parsons, of whom O. W. Holmes said: "Parsons is appreciated by scholars; his genius is greatly admired in England and Italy. His absorbing study of Dante has given him his felicity of style and the exquisite art of his work. He has written some poems finer than any other American poet has produced."

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Fact of Christ. By P. CARNEGIE SIMPSON, M.A., Minister of Renfield Church, Glasgow. 12mo, pp. 188. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, \$1.25.

Intellectually clear, logically strong, and morally cogent are these lectures delivered to a pastor's class which met on Sunday evenings after service. If lectures to a class are of this quality, what are the sermons from the pulpit of Renfield Church? One longs to read some of them. For practical value this is one of the most useful of books; a mine of available truth for the minister, and on the level of popular comprehension. The central, overshadowing fact of the world and history and life and religion is Christ. The author makes this convincingly clear and transcendently significant. Christianity offers not theories so much as facts, not doctrine so much as data. The first chapter deals introductively with those data. Greatest among those data is the Fact of Christ, undeniable, indestructible, immensely significant, meaning more than any other fact can mean. The first meaning of the Fact of Christ is seen in Christian character produced by it in men, and in the moral motive power which it furnishes and imparts to human life. The further meaning of the Fact of Christ is in the foundation which it affords for faith, and in the proof it gives that "the Word was God." The final meaning of the Fact of Christ is in its relation to the reality of sin and to the problem of forgiveness. (Under this head the principles of the Atonement are set forth, giving it a jural significance, as enabling God to forgive without compromise of the moral order of the universe.) The closing lecture illuminates the question, "What is a Christian?" George H. Lewes, in his *History of Philosophy*, dismissed religion from the realm of verifiable knowledge because of "its inability to furnish knowledge with any available data." But in the Fact of Christ there are data enough to build religion on as a solid superstructure upon a firm foundation. Agnosticism can be driven back by Christ and the data contained in him. The philosophical mind discusses Christianity as the manifestation of eternal truths of the reason; and that it surely is. The practical mind discusses it mainly as a moral ideal and motive; and that it truly is. But Jesus presented religion to men by asking, "Whom say ye that I am?" as if faith should begin at him. And that is just where it can begin, and not faith only, but apologetics also, the reasoned evidences of religion. Christ is the key with which we can unlock the doors of all the soul's great problems and the mind's mysteries. Jesus alone of all teachers ever known presents himself as the answer to every question, the sufficient object of every search. When a man is inquiring the way to eternal life Christ

says, "Follow me." When another man desires to see the Father Christ's answer is, "Hast thou not known me?" Men ask for light; he says, "I am the light of the world." They seek truth; he says, "Come unto me." As Herrman says, in his *Verkehr des Christen mit Gott*, "Christ knew no more sacred task than to point men to his own person." And as Keim says, in his *Jesu von Nazara*, "The religion of Christ goes mysteriously back to his person, and this singular fundamental fact alone enables us to understand the religion which sprang from it." Now all this is entirely unparalleled. Excepting Jesus no such commanding master ever confronted men, making himself the text of all that he had to say. Agnosticism is the form mostly taken by unbelief to-day. Voltaire and the Deists, Shaftesbury, Toland, and Bolingbroke, are gone, and do not trouble us any more. For men who care for religion at all the superiority of Christianity is so manifest that it has no rivals. But the agnostics hold that religion and all the things it deals with are matters beyond the possibility of human knowledge. They say, "Who knows about the origin of the universe, and the meaning of life, and the destiny of man?" and, as our author, says, "The more serious of them read Herbert Spencer and make their agnosticism a philosophy, while the more shallow read their Omar Khayyam, and many a troubled soul is left unsatisfied." The cure for agnosticism is Christ, the Great Master of the soul, who practically says to men, "Yes, there are many problems you cannot solve; many things are surmised about which seem far away and unknowable. But here am I, an actual, visible, undeniable Fact. What think ye of me? What will you do with me?" And the Fact of Christ is so extraordinary, so amazing, so tremendously significant, that no man has any right to call himself an agnostic until after he has earnestly, reverently, and exhaustively studied that great Fact. After that he may be an agnostic—if he can. We freely admit that if Christ does not save from agnosticism, then there is no salvation. It should be added just here that when the agnostic deals with the Fact of Christ he should not fail to use the experimental method of investigation in conformity with the instructions given by Bacon, who said, "The question whether anything can be known is to be settled not by arguing, but by trying;" which is only an echo of the Master's words, "He that willeth to do the Will shall know." The Fact of Christ is one which impresses men as nothing else can. Charles Lamb felt this when, referring to Christ, he said, "If Shakespeare should enter this room, we would all rise to meet him; but if He should come in, we would all fall down and try to kiss the hem of his garment." And mighty is this Master for the transforming of human character and the inspiring of human lives. Henry Drummond began his little brochure entitled *The Changed Life* by quoting Huxley's well-known words, "I protest that if some great power would agree to make me always think what is true and do what is right, on condition of being turned into a sort of clock and wound up every morning, I should

instantly close with the offer;" and then Drummond boldly says, in substance, "That offer is made by Christ; without being turned into a sort of clock a man may be so regulated by the Spirit of Christ, if he submits himself to it, as to think what is true and do what is right." Millions who have so thought and done have given the glory of it all to him. "Not I, but Christ," said Paul. The author shows, in the first place, that the original data of Christianity are in Jesus Christ himself; next that Christ is a fact not only of history, but also of present spiritual life and experience; and, inquiring what this Fact means for religion, he finds that it holds meanings of the profoundest kind for character, for faith, and for conscience; it means a new moral life, a real revelation of the living God, and an evangel of assured forgiveness. Dr. Chalmers, a great teacher of the moral bearings of truth, said, "Our chief business with Christianity is to proceed upon it." And the main thing is not to understand Christianity, but to be a Christian. This brings the lecturer in his closing pages to ask, "What is a Christian?" Having found Christianity to be the meaning of the Fact of Christ, he describes a Christian as one who is responding to that meaning. A perfect Christian would be one who perfectly responded to all the meaning of that Fact for thought and feeling and life. But where is the perfect Christian? Paul counted not himself to have apprehended. Luther called himself "almost a Christian." The response which makes a Christian may be real and sincere, even when not perfect. Some, who will call a man a Christian even though his practical response to the meaning of Christ for life and conduct be weak and meager, will yet refuse him the name if his intellectual response to the meanings of Christ for doctrinal belief be not sharply defined and very positive. How is the amount of response necessary to make a Christian to be determined? The character of any man's response in matters of creed and in matters of conduct must be judged in the light of the mental and moral constitution of the individual. Each man's responsibility, intellectual and moral, can be passed upon only in the court of conscience, and therefore only by the Searcher of the conscience, the Trier of the hearts of men. "The Lord knoweth them that are his." A Christian, says the lecturer finally, is one who is responding to whatever meanings of Christ are being brought home to his intellectual and moral nature by the divine Spirit. And this definition covers at once the completest Christianity and the simplest. One man may be able to respond with intellectual assent and practical obedience to *many* of the meanings of Christ for thought and life; another, equally earnest, may be able, by reason of his constitution, circumstances, or ignorance, to respond only to a *few* elementary meanings. Yet both are Christians: one more mature and complete than the other, but not necessarily more true and real. The Christian who has not the full richness of the Christian faith and the full victory of the Christian life is a loser, but not lost. He should be encouraged, not excommunicated. It is not the amount of our attain-

ment in belief or achievement in conduct that the Lord first looks at, but the sincerity of our hearts and the honesty of our purpose. Not the dull, obtuse, and blundering follower of Christ is blamed, but only the careless and unfaithful disciple. On his last pages our preacher asks, "Why be a Christian?" and answers briefly thus: "There are two voices which are never long silent in the heart of any serious and thoughtful person. One is a voice within that speaks to a man of himself, of his personal responsibility, character, and destiny. It is a small voice, never overheard in another, easily silenced even in oneself; but in the still hours and solemn experiences of life it speaks out clear and makes us listen. The other is not a small voice. Like the sound of many waters, it is the deep, sad murmur of humanity's labor and suffering and sorrow—now a roar as of the breaking sea, now a moan as of the homeless wind. This voice, too, can be ignored by the dull heart and the deadened conscience; but now and again it will make itself heard in a way to rouse and frighten the soul. These are the two great voices that are forever speaking to men. They bear one and the same message; both are a call to look to Christ and to learn of him. We need him for our own sakes, if we wish to live rightly and die peacefully; we need him for the sake of others, if we care to bless and serve them in any real and helpful way. Alike by every reason for interest in our own character and fate, and by every obligation toward our brother men, we are bound, therefore, to be Christians. When one lays this book down the Fact of Christ seems, as it is, the most sublime and subduing Reality in the universe known to man.

Reconstruction in Theology. By HENRY CHURCHILL KING, Professor of Theology in Oberlin Theological Seminary. 12mo, pp. 257. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

Sabatier says, "To satisfy the expectation and the quest of spirits, living and troubled at this very moment, and to give men the means of justifying to themselves their faith and their hope—this is the principal merit of every genuine theology." Theology, to have any influence or render any service, must use statements relevant to the thought of the time and comprehensible to living minds. Professor King's book is animated by a desire to help intelligent laymen as well as theological students and ministers to an understanding of the great scholarly movements and convictions of the day, and to show that the solution of the theological problems of to-day is a conception of religion as a personal relation and a restatement of doctrine in terms of personal relation. And this last is, to our thinking, the most distinct and helpful value of this earnest and able book. Dr. King feels that it ought to be possible in Great Britain and America to avoid the great breach between the scholars of the Church and its membership, such as confronts Germany to-day; and shows that theology not only is compelled to look modern scientific and critical thought full in the face, but can do so calmly and

without fear that anything vital to the highest and purest Christianity is in danger, and with serene confidence that the movement of the time is carrying us toward a more truly biblical theology (which ought to be the only theology) and toward Christ's own point of view. The author's discussions of miracle and of evolution have also some special interest. Recognizing the value of the great creeds, in the past and now, the chief effort of the book is to describe the new world of thought in which we are living, and the necessity for theology to make itself intelligible to this new world by restatements of truth, and also to give the author's idea of the necessary form and basis of theology for the present and the future. Professor King insists that the effort for restatement and reconstruction is not the work of a rationalistic spirit in the Church, nor is it caused by the influence of an antireligious age upon the Church, but is due to the perceived necessity of meeting the new conditions with which a new intellectual and moral world surrounds us. The shape, not the essential nature, of the Church's problems changes from age to age. Five chapters are given to considering the influence of the new world of thought on theology; first, scientific influences and miracles in the light of modern science, with a glance at evolution and its special bearing; and next the influence of historical and literary biblical study. The author thinks that evolution's point of view offers some great general gains for theology; and as for the critical study of the Bible, while there are dangers attending transition to new views, he is confident of the final outcome, is sure it will establish the abiding significance and value of the Old Testament, and will bring larger gains to Christianity in view of the fact that Christianity is at once biblical and historical. This part of the book concludes by presenting what the author considers to be the positive results so far developed for modern theology, with a statement of the doctrine of inspiration as it now stands and of the difference between biblical and post-biblical inspiration. To us, as already intimated, the peculiar interest and worth of this volume is in the last four chapters, which treat of religion as a personal relation, regarding the laws of the Christian life as those of a personal friendship between man and God, setting forth the basis of this divine friendship and the conditions for deepening it. Two great facts of our day bearing favorably on this conception of religion are, first, a growing sense of the value and sacredness of the person, and, second, the increasing recognition of Christ as the supreme person of history. Other hopeful tokens are the increasing recognition of the whole man, the exclusion of the mechanical and the sacramentalistic, the quickening of the social conscience, the greater emphasis on the ethical with the root-unity of the ethical life in love, and the sifting of doctrine by practical tests. With all this goes also an increasing recognition of the practical Lordship of Christ, with God the Father as the ruling conception in modern theology, of whom Christ is the supreme and sufficient revelation—so much so, thought Dr. A. J. F. Behrends, that he could say, "The vision of Christ's face is

the only vision I ever expect to have of God, as Philip saw in him the Father." Arguing for the necessity of putting theology into the terms of personal relationship, it is shown that we know personal relations best, that the problem of life is the right fulfillment of personal relations, that religion is a personal relation, and that this is the New Testament conception. Even Pfeleiderer says: "Why should it be less possible for God to enter into loving fellowship with us than for men to do so with each other? I should be inclined to think that He is even more capable of doing so." Professor King rejoices that modern intellectual progress has given to theology a larger view of the method, plan, and aim of God in the universe; a great extension and strengthening of the design argument; a clearer view of the harmony of the divine methods, the harmony between the plan of the natural world and that of the spiritual world; and an enlarged conception of God in his immanence in the world. He thinks that critical study is making the entire Old Testament more real, more rational, more personal, more vital, giving it a deepening hold on the imagination, heart, and life of mankind; and he believes confidently that because of this the best preaching of the Bible ever seen in the world is still ahead and is to be the glory of the twentieth century and the salvation of the world. We heartily agree with this book that man is the key to all problems, but only the *whole* man, and that the whole man is expressed only in personal relations. Lotze truly says that the nature of things does not consist in thoughts, and thinking alone is not able to grasp it. Man is more than intellect, and an adequate theology or philosophy must take account of all the data—emotional and volitional as well as intellectual; æsthetic, ethical, and religious as well as mechanical. It is a misnamed rationalism that knows only intellect; a genuine rationalism knows the whole man. And "the language which speaks of God in terms of our own highest experience is really *truer* than purely metaphysical language concerning God *can be*. Religion carries us nearer to the meaning of the world and the rationale of life than do the formulæ of an abstract metaphysics." This book is mediatorial and irenic in its purpose, and is part of the effort to bring about that *rapprochement* between the scholarship of the Church and its membership, which is rather painfully needed for the relief of the present situation. In the nature of the case the main responsibility for bringing about that better understanding rests upon the scholars, who alone are equipped for explanation and exposition, and who are in duty bound to make themselves "understood of the people," and to allay whatever alarm arises from failure to understand. A great deal of such work as is contained in Professor King's volume will have to be done. But the final result will be peace and power, light and life. Is this "an age of doubt"? Does the large and steady gain in evangelical Church membership support that characterization? The increase of avowed Christians during the nineteenth century was enormous. This is preeminently the age of triumphant faith in Christ.

Commentary of the Old Testament. Vol. VIII. Ezekiel and Daniel. By CAMDEN M. COBERN, D.D. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Jennings & Fye. Price, cloth, \$2.

Many will be glad that it has been given to our brother to make this contribution to the literature of the Church, and it is but just to congratulate him on not only the taste and skill shown in his work, but the industry that has so subdued a tangled and luxuriant field of sacred learning. In his service of large churches the welfare of his people and the mind of the Master have so employed his hours and energies that a friend may wonder how he has, for a by-task, achieved this commentary. Surely to the busy come business calls, and their working capacity grows by what it feeds on. The Book of Ezekiel is a book specially fortunate in this preliminary fact, that no criticism attacks its date or authorship, its unity or canonicity. Who the author was, when or where he lived, the character and fortunes of his people in his day, need statement only, not debate. One sees the prophet fearlessly throw himself into the midst of his times to struggle for Israel's welfare and to urge men to concur in the divine plan and calling. He anticipates the New Testament in his passionate appeal for their repentance and reform and in his assurance that all shall go well with them if once they turn. The Gospel in Ezekiel is the cry of the Baptist, of the evangelists, of the Apocalypse. It ignores ancestral and ceremonial merit and enforces absolute personal responsibility. The prophet lived in a crisis of his nation, in an age on ages telling. As with Jeremiah at Jerusalem, so with Ezekiel among the captives on the Chebar, old things were passing away and now was the hour to give the new things as they rose a healthful, hopeful character. Therefore his office is manifold. As historian he keeps a continuous record of events; as priest without temple or altar he cherishes every devout feeling and exalts the spiritual life above all carnal ordinances; as prophet, out of the ruins of the past, as from dry bones in desert sands, he sees the organized future come forth into new and strenuous life. From the temple's broken waste he sees rise in full flow a living stream that fills with abundance the Sea of Death or adorns its shore with trees whose leaf shall not wither, whose fruit shall be through all the months unfailing. The dead nations never rise again, but their memorial may strangely come forth from the dust of oblivion. In one century—620 B. C.—520 B. C.—five great empires went down; within sixty years their record has emerged from their ruins. A mass of unmeaning wedges has proved to be an arrowheaded library, and has told the tale of Mesopotamia. No other sacred book is thereby so illustrated as Ezekiel, and no writer has so mastered and presented the gist of all this as Dr. Cobern. Familiar with this historic wealth in its home lands and in the best museums, he has made it a help to the better understanding of the Scripture, as if, indeed, for that it was kept in store. The introduction embraces all matters leading up to the proper contents of the book. The topic the most difficult and important is the

language of symbolism. The giant imagery, the emblems long quite incomprehensible, have in these later years been uncovered in the Assyrian palaces, and Ezekiel's visions, like Joseph's dreams, like the Saviour's parables, were at home when used and are now made everywhere intelligible. The explanations in this commentary serve well elsewhere in Scripture. The entire Book of Ezekiel our author throws into five divisions. The first sets forth the prophet's call to his sacred office. The second details the sin and announces the doom of the Jews and their city. The third is given to denunciation of Israel's foes, the vague forms of fierce tribes and peoples thrust into the hopeless darkness of the underworld, which to Israel was still cheered by the divine Presence. The fourth offers its wealth of consolation, while the fifth, swinging the gate of the future, shows the coming sanctuary and the preliminaries of the coming one, closing full in the name of the holy city. "The Lord is there." From the first verse of this commentary one may learn the style of the whole. This is fully treated, varying views fairly shown and the best quietly chosen. The diligence and acuteness, the wide study, and the earnest quest of truth here at once give the keynote of the whole work, and the last verse "returns to that from which it has not departed." Our author finds between the books upon which he comments the greatest contrast. The Book of Daniel is now for ages and generations under query as to what manner of times one is to find herein. "The Son of man," who first here bears this title, owned the book by quoting it; the Jews long counted it the most glorious of their prophetic list, and Dr. Cobern makes clear the ardor of esteem with which the Church to this day regards it. Yet the book wears a baffling mystery. Its material agrees with one epoch and its molding with another. It is in the second canon a century before our era as if coming from the unseen and placed by the fingers of a bodiless hand. Our author finds his widest work in discussing the views held by eminent critics, for each, fascinated by the book, has his theory. The date and authorship of Daniel give them a problem to be exercised therewith, and their sorest travail brings little but vexation of spirit. Our commentator, calmly rehearsing all this, takes as his working theory about as follows: Under the dynasty of Seleucus, to whom came Alexander's Syrian empire, a prophet, for Israel's immediate comfort, brought into glowing vision the four centuries last gone and the two centuries next coming. The vision is an artistic unity, the personal traditions of Daniel serving for instruction in righteousness and framing the visions like apples of gold in network of silver. The commentary discusses all the features and relations of the book, and the reader, though he run while reading, can grasp all that is knowable of this inspired and inspiring prophet. The kingdoms of this world eventfully rise and fall; then rises the divine, universal kingdom that cannot fall. The movement is that of a pageant trailing clouds of glory on its way and at the end finding its consummation in the eternal splendors. Dr.

Coburn has taken his task in deep and wide seriousness. He drops his work into the stream of our time's religious thought. It will not be cast aside upon the bank; it will add to the volume and enrich the quality of the flow.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

The Habitant. By WILLIAM HENRY DRUMMOND, M.D. 12mo, pp. 137. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, cloth, \$1.25.

This successful volume of French-Canadian poems, mostly in dialect and already followed by another, entitled *Johnnie Courteau and Other Poems*, is by an adopted son of Canada who came there from Ireland when ten years old. The author's motive is given in his preface: "Having lived practically all my life side by side with the French-Canadians, I have grown to admire and love them, and have felt that while many of the English-speaking public know perhaps as well as myself the French-Canadian of the cities, yet they have had little opportunity of becoming acquainted with the *Habitant*; therefore I have endeavored to paint a few types, and in doing this it has seemed to me that I could best attain the object in view by having my friends tell their own tale in their own way, as they would relate them in their broken half-English dialect to English-speaking auditors not conversant with the French tongue." The pictures which interpret the characters and scenes of these verses are sketched from nature or life by F. S. Coburn, a young Canadian illustrator of remarkable ability. Most writers of to-day agree in giving the French-Canadian a good character. In his preface to *The Lane that Had no Turning*, a book of tales concerning the people of Pontiac, and parables of the provinces, Gilbert Parker writes: "I have never seen frugality and industry associated with so much domestic virtue and so deep and simple a religious life as in French Canada. A land without poverty, and yet without riches, it stands alone, too well educated to have an ordinary peasantry, too poor to have an aristocracy." The province of Quebec, which was the earlier colonized and is the more interesting in scenery and historical associations, contains most of the French-Canadian peasantry, the *Habitant*. Descended from the hardy men who were brought to America by Champlain over two hundred years ago, the *Habitant* is an antique historic figure, not merging into the general population, but preserving his quaint identity—a survival from a bygone time. The *patois* which he continues to speak generation after generation is probably a modification of the French dialect spoken by his ancestors in Normandy centuries ago. Although more than a century has passed since the flag of Britain first floated in victory over him, he still clings to many old French ways and traditions. He plants long rows of tall poplars to keep alive the memory of the country of his forefathers. He abhors change and novelty and new-fangled inventions, such as steam plows

and patent reapers. He makes his furniture and most of his tools and farming implements with his own hands, as his wife makes all clothing for the family. His white hamlets dot the banks of the St. Lawrence, above and below Quebec, with veritable Norman cottages, which have steep roofs, dormer windows, and wide chimneys; and always central in each group of humble homes stands the whitewashed church lifting its red-tiled roof and picturesque steeple, with the curé's neat cottage behind it, and a convent or seminary near by, while here and there along the roads is planted a wayside cross before which peasants kneel, crossing themselves in prayer for good harvests, long life, and plenty of children. As a rule the French-Canadians outside the cities marry early, often the boy of twenty to the girl of seventeen, and have large families, in which the chief ambition is to raise one priest or *avocat* to dignify the family name. They are simple-minded folk, characterized by submissive reverence for the priest, a placid temperament, and an extreme contentment, which speaks for itself in the opening poem called "The Habitant:"

De fader of me, he was habitant farmer,
Ma gran' fader too, an' hees fader also;
Dey don't mak' no monee, but dat is n't fonny,
For it's not easy get everyting, you mus' know:

All de sam' dere is someting dey got everyboddy,
Dat's plaintee good healt', wat de monee can't geev;
So I'm workin' away dere, an' happy for stay dere
On farm by de reever, so long I was leev.

We leev very quiet 'way back on de contree,
Don't put on sam' style lak de big village;
Wen we don't get de monee you tink dat is fonny,
An' mak' plaintee sport on de Bottes Sauvages.

But I tole you—dat's true—I don't go on de city
If you geev de fine house an' beaucoup d'argent—
I rader be stay me, an' spend de laa' day me
On farm by de rapide dat's call Cheval Blanc.

The *Habitant* is intensely patriotic toward his own people and the soil he lives on, complacent over himself and his position, proud of Canada's immeasurable superiority in location, scenery, climate, and healthfulness. He is content with his plain fare of rye bread, sour milk, fat pork, and potatoes. He is content with his easy religion. The priest does his thinking for him and most of his praying, wipes out his sins for him from time to time for a consideration, and finally helps him out of purgatory on the same financial plan. Intensely French as he is in his pride of ancestry, he is content with the government he lives under. England, in Canada as elsewhere, has shown herself such a just and generous conqueror that the *Habitant* has been happier since the victory on the heights of Abraham unfurled the banner of Britain above the citadel of Quebec than he ever was under the flag of *L'Ancien Régime*. He found his English conqueror to be a strong protector, who

interfered in no way with his comfort or well-being, but permitted him to go on living his own life freely in his own way. His contentment is well expressed by his own words in the Jubilee Ode with which he joins in celebrating the good Victoria's long reign:

We spik Français lak' we always do, an' de English dey mak no fuss,
An' our law de sam'; wall, I don't know me, 'twas better mebbe for us.
So de sam' as two broder we settle down, leevin' dere han' in han';
Knowin' each oder, we lak' each oder, de French an' de Englishman;
For it's curis ting on dis worl', I'm sure you see it agen an' agen,
Dat offen de mos' worse ennemi, he's comin' de bes', bes' frien'.
An' onder de flag of Angleterre, so long as dat flag was fly,
Wit deir English broder, les Canayens is satisfy leev an' die.

Fifty years hence, or less, it may be that the world will hear from South Africa a similar song of loyal contentment with Great Britain's liberal, benign, civilizing, and elevating supremacy through all the regions lying between the Zambesi and the Cape. In South Africa now, as previously on the Nile and in the Soudan, and as hereafter wherever England may need them, the French-Canadians have been ready volunteers to shoulder arms and help extend to other unwilling lands the blessings of that mighty, just, generous, freedom-giving, and republicanized empire, under which they themselves rejoice to have lived in peace and prosperity for more than a hundred years. The French-Canadian does not want to be annexed to the United States. As to the Yankees, he says:

Wen effer dey're comin' on Canadaw, we always be treat dem well,
For dey're spendin' de monee lak' gentilhommes, an' stay on de bes' hotel.
Den "Bienvenu," we vill spik dem, an' "Come back again nex' week,
So long you was kip on de quiet an' don't talk de politique."

The festivals of the French-Canadian are religious, the chief ones being that of St. Jean Baptiste and the Fête de Dieu, celebrated by picturesque processions with music and flowers and sacred emblems and the carrying of the host through the streets. The literature of the *Habitant* is mostly in the form of songs, which go to the sound of his fiddle after his hard day's work is done. And the principal literary product of Canada, English as well as French, would seem to be in large proportion, poetry, the richness and variety of which may be seen in Dr. T. H. Rand's *Treasury of Canadian Verse*, and are familiar to us in the works of such Canadian singers as Carman, Roberts, Lampman, and D. C. Scott. Our latest characterization of the French-Canadians is from Goldwin Smith, a well-informed resident of Canada, which we here append as giving some views slightly different from those above expressed, and as fit to close our notice of the book in which Dr. Drummond has given us so much of the spirit and quality of the life of Lower Canada: "In French Canada the Catholic Church has reigned over a simple peasantry, her own from the beginning, thoroughly submissive to the priesthood, willing to give freely of its little store for the building of churches which tower over the hamlet, and sufficiently firm

in its faith to throng to the fane of St. Anne Baupré for miracles of healing. She has kept the *Habitant* ignorant and unprogressive, but made him, after her rule, moral, insisting on early marriage, on marriage, controlling his habits and amusements with an almost Puritan strictness. Probably French Canada has been as good and as happy as anything the Catholic Church had to show. The priesthood was of the Gallican school. It lived on good terms with the state, though in French Canada the state was a conqueror. From fear of New England Puritanism it had kept its people loyal to Great Britain during the Revolutionary War. From fear of French atheism it kept its people loyal to Great Britain during the war with France. It sang *Te Deum* for Trafalgar. So things were till the other day. But then came the Jesuit. He got back, from the subserviency of the Canadian politicians, the lands which he had lost after the conquest and the suppression of his order. He supplanted the Gallicans, captured the hierarchy, and prevailed over the great Sulpician monastery in a struggle for the pastorate of Montreal. Other influences have of late been working for a change in a direction neither Gallican nor Jesuit. Railroads have broken into the rural seclusion which favored the ascendancy of the priest. Popular education has made some way. Newspapers have increased in number and are more read. The peasant has been growing restive under the burden of tithe and *fabrique*. Many of the *Habitants* go into the Northern States of the Union for work, and return to their own country bringing with them republican ideas. Americans who have been shunning continental union from dread of French-Canadian popery may lay aside their fears."

Counsel upon the Reading of Books. 12mo, pp. 306. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

The American Society for the Extension of University Teaching arranged for the delivery, in Philadelphia, of lectures intended to offer helpful suggestions to those who desire to read wisely. The six papers in this volume, based upon those lectures, are by Morse Stephens, Agnes Repplier, Arthur T. Hadley, Brander Matthews, Bliss Perry, and H. W. Mabie. The subjects are "History," "Memoirs and Biographies," "Sociology, Economics, and Politics," "The Study of Fiction," "Poetry," "Essay and Criticism." The lecturers have spent their lives among books, and are capable of telling something about the best books and the way to use them. They look at the subject from different sides, each having a specific theme and viewing it through his own peculiar temperament. Three write from the scientific point of view, and three from the literary. One of them, Miss Repplier, makes light of prescribed courses of reading, calling them "Cook's Tours in Literature," but Henry Van Dyke in his Introduction wisely says that, while he who is reading for pleasure may read what pleases him, one who is in pursuit of knowledge must surely be thankful to be "personally conducted" to

the books which contain the information he seeks. He adds, "There are more than ten great books in the world, and more than a hundred good ones; but the best hundred for you may not be the best for me." He gives such advice as this, "Read the preface or introduction first; read plenty of books about people and things; read one book at a time; read the great old books which have stood the test of time; read no book with which the author has not taken pains enough to write it in a clean, sound, lucid style." As to history, Professor Stephens highly values and strongly commends the historical novel, like those of Scott, and Dumas, and Kingsley, and Weir Mitchell; but Professor Matthews scorns the historical novel as a "bastard hybrid of fact and fancy." Macaulay passes for a great historian, but it does not increase our confidence in the trustworthiness of his history when we hear him say, "Facts are the mere dross of history." "History begins in novel and ends in essay; it is a compound of poetry and philosophy." Professor Stephens says that James Anthony Froude was one of the masters of modern English literary style, but that he regarded accuracy and impartiality as of no importance, and that he had a curious disease which prevented him from stating the truth even when he perceived it. One critic invented the word "Froudacity" to describe that disease. It differs from mendacity in being not so much a perversion of the truth as an absolute inability to state it. Carlyle was not a historian, for he had not the faintest idea of what scientific investigation, accurate criticism, impartiality, or objective reality implied; he had not the type of mind nor the training necessary for weighing evidence, and his love of the picturesque and the dramatic in history outweighed the love of truth which he was always talking about. His marvelous work entitled *The French Revolution—A History* might have been more accurately named *The French Revolution—A Rhapsody*. Professor Stephens thinks that "the greatest of living English poets" has described the spirit in which the true historian will write and the reward he will receive:

And only the Master shall praise us and only the Master shall blame;
And no one shall work for money, and no one shall work for fame,
But each for the joy of the working, and each, in his separate star,
Shall draw the Thing as he sees it for the God of Things as they are.

In biography the great English books are Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson* and Lockhart's *Life of Sir Walter Scott*. Southey's *Life of Nelson* and Gibbon's *Autobiography* are models of biography in miniature. Carlyle said with enthusiasm over Johnson's noble courage, and kindness of heart, and impregnable common sense, "A true brother of men is he, and filial lover of the earth;" yet Carlyle himself, in sharp contrast, turned from his brother men and from his mother earth in angry scorn of the folly he could not pity and of the wickedness he could not mend. The *Life of Lord Tennyson* by his son is counted a failure in the sense that it paints a shadowy Tennyson, lacking in humanity, and without warmth or light. Another failure is Professor Dowden's *Life of Shelley*,

because the biographer's emotions overwhelm his judgment; as Matthew Arnold said, "Dowden holds a brief for Shelley, pleading for him as an advocate pleads for his client;" and his pleadings are so feverishly sentimental that we are lifted from the firm, familiar ground of right and common sense, and whirled about in a fog-world of nonsense and wrong. And this is the professor who extols Southey's *Life of Nelson* for its simplicity and lack of sentimentalism! An interesting volume is the *Memoir and Letters* of John Murray, the publisher, in which are seen as in a picture the childish vanity of James Hogg, the irritable arrogance of Leigh Hunt, the greed of Madame de Staël, the bewildering verbosity of Coleridge, the gayety of Thomas Moore, the petulance of Byron, the rare modesty of Sir Walter Scott, the inexhaustible self-esteem of Southey. Benjamin Disraeli, himself by no means lacking in self-appreciation, gave the palm for self-conceit to Greville, the author of the *Memoirs*, "although," added the prime minister, "I have read Cicero, and I knew Bulwer Lytton." The noblest nature shown us by a great biographer is probably Sir Walter Scott, whose sane and manly virtues, kindness, patience, unostentatious acceptance of new duties, and freedom from envy, jealousy, and vanity, place him among God's truest noblemen. "Never did man preach less and practice more," says Miss Repplier. "Sir Walter," said his old servant, "always speaks to every man as if he were his born brother." "If you please," answered the dying Duke of Wellington to a servant who asked him if he would like a drink. If one wishes to feel the difference between science and poetry, he cannot do better than to read this ornithological description of the skylark, "a small oscine, passerine bird of the family Alaudidæ, insectivorous and migratory," and then read Shelley's "Ode" to that same bird. One critic writes that "poetry is a new way of seeing things rather than a loud way of saying them." Another says that poetry is the finest of the arts and gives visions of the most ravishing beauty. Shelley thought poetry "the record of the best and happiest moments of the best and happiest minds." Edward FitzGerald, extolling Wordsworth, said, "I read all the other poets, but I always end by coming back to their Daddy." Speaking of literature as a whole, John Morley once said, "Its purpose is to bring sunshine into our hearts and to drive moonshine out of our heads." Writing of the essay, Mr. Mabie says that the essayist is not generally supposed to have a place in Hebrew literature. The historian, the poet, the psalmist, the prophet, are found there; but until Professor Moulton restored its proper literary form to the Bible few, if any, dreamed of finding the essayist there. But Mr. Mabie calls the following an essay in spirit and form, full of what Walter Pater describes as autumnal wisdom, spiritual discernment, the very genius of discretion, judgment upon knowledge, the distilled wine of experience: "Wisdom exalteth her sons, and taketh hold of them that seek her. He that loveth her loveth life; and they that seek her early shall be filled with gladness. He that holdeth her fast shall inherit

glory; and where he entereth, the Lord will bless. They that do her service shall minister to the Holy One; and them that love her the Lord doth love. He that giveth ear unto her shall judge the nations; and he that giveth heed unto her shall dwell securely. If he trust her, he shall inherit her; and his generations shall have her in possession. At first she will bring fear and dread upon him and torment him with her discipline, that she may try him by her judgments until she can trust his soul; then will she gladden him and reveal to him her secrets. But if he go astray, she will forsake him and deliver him over to his fall." This, says Mr. Mabie, is one of the earliest of essays, a piece of perfect literature; very brief and condensed, yet bringing man face to face with one of the deepest and most momentous truths of life; it deals with eternal principles, yet is as concrete in its way as the Psalms of David or the Book of Job. Although Dr. Van Dyke thinks that the enterprise of making a book out of such lectures as are in this volume has its disadvantages, we have found it interesting, stimulating, and informing from the first page to the last.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The English Church, from the Norman Conquest to the Accession of Edward I (1066-1272). By W. R. W. STEPHENS, B.D., F.S.A., Dean of Winchester. Crown 8vo, pp. 381. London and New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, \$2.

This is the second in a series of seven volumes intended to cover the history of the English Church from its foundation in 597 A. D. to the end of the eighteenth century. The first three or four volumes are now ready, and, though prepared by different hands, show consistency and continuity as well as carefulness. Our own interest in the series will center most on the seventh and closing volume, to see how Canon Overton will treat of the great evangelical movement under the Wesleys when he comes to write of the English Church from the death of Anne to the close of the eighteenth century; although the canon's previous writings have taught us what to expect from him in spirit and attitude toward that mighty awakening. The volume now before us begins with a momentous period. The Norman Conqueror brought the English Church and nation, which had been insulated in a kind of backwater, into the main stream of European civilization just at the opening of one of the most eventful eras in the history of Christendom. The two hundred years from the latter half of the eleventh century to near the close of the thirteenth were emphatically an age of growth—intellectual, religious, and political; an age of great men, grand ideals, and noble ventures. It witnessed the rise and progress of the Crusading movement. It saw monasticism reach its zenith in the reform of the Benedictines, the foundation of the Cistercian and Corthusian orders, and the diffusion of the Mendicant orders, which not only brought the ministrations of Christian love and self-sacrifice to the outcast leper, the sick, the suffering, the needy, the sin laden, but also furnished some of the leading

teachers in the University of Oxford. It was in that age of great intellectual activity and increasing scholastic learning that the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge rose out of obscure beginnings into fame and importance. In that period the metropolitan see of Canterbury was distinguished by a succession of archbishops eminent for learning, sanctity, administrative ability—Lanfranc, Anselm, Theobald, Thomas Becket, Hubert Walter, Stephen Langton, Edmund Rich—who exercised an important influence on Church and nation, protecting the liberties of both from the oppressive exactions of popes and kings. The popes of that period were able and ambitious, and insisted that the spiritual power, being in its nature superior to the earthly and temporal, ought to be paramount in Christendom, asserting that this supreme spiritual power had been inherited by the popes from St. Peter, whom they mistakenly believed to have been chief of the apostles and first Bishop of Rome. The effort to enforce this claim of supreme power involved the papacy in the unscrupulous intrigues of worldly policy, and, stooping to conquer, the Church meanly debased itself. The avaricious popes drained England of its resources until the patience of clergy and people was exhausted, and they united in resistance against rapacious oppression. Pope Alexander II gave great assistance to William the Norman in his invasion and conquest of England, and the papal bull which denounced Harold as a usurper and proclaimed William the lawful heir of the English throne really invested William's enterprise with the character of a holy war. So William was able to appeal to religious sentiment as well as to love of plunder in inviting aid for his attempt to conquer England; and wealthy ecclesiastics in high position were induced to contribute men and ships for the invasion, the Abbot of St. Ouen furnishing twenty ships and one hundred knights, and Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, one hundred ships. From the outset William the Conqueror exhibited himself in the eyes of Europe as champion of the Roman Church no less than as rightful claimant to the English throne; and his purpose was to bring the English Church into direct submission to Roman discipline and the authority of the pope. After the victorious William had had himself crowned in Westminster Abbey on Christmas Day, 1066, he sent to the pope an astonishing amount of gold and silver and costly ornaments, such as a Byzantine emperor might have envied. It is impossible for us in this notice to follow the struggles for freedom against oppression in this critical period of the English nation and Church. Only a few incidents of that stirring and tumultuous history can be noted. William the Norman filled the offices of the English Church with imported Normans, until Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester, was the only bishop of English birth who remained in possession of his see. He was a man of many noble qualities, honest fearlessness, apostolic zeal, and good sense, a preacher of righteousness, who purified the port of Bristol from its infamous traffic in slaves, and did many other mighty works of reform. It is narrated that when a new church was finished

Wulfstan was observed to weep, and, being remonstrated with for not rejoicing at the completion of so noble a work, he replied that their forefathers had been content with less stately buildings, because to them every place was a church wherein they could offer themselves as a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto God. "We, on the contrary," he continued, "are diligent in piling up grand buildings made of stone, while we are negligent of those living temples which are the souls of men." A wealthy Thane, named Lygulf, and his wife each presented a bell to the great Abbey of St. Albans, he selling some of his flocks of sheep and goats to buy his bell for the church. When these donors heard the bells ringing from the minster tower Lygulf would say merrily, "Hark! how sweetly bleat my sheep and goats!" and his wife, listening to the sweet concert of the two bells, rejoiced in their harmony as symbolical of the loving agreement between her husband and herself in devotion to the Church. A great character was Anselm, Prior of Bec, a man of lofty genius, a profound and original thinker who grappled with intricate and unsolved questions touching the nature of God and man's relations with him. When, on Palm Sunday, 1109 A. D., they told the dying Anselm that he would probably keep his Easter with his Master in heaven, he replied, "If his will be so, I will gladly obey it; but if he were willing I should abide with you until I have solved a question I am turning over in my mind about the origin of the soul, I should be thankful." The good Anselm during his life spent a large part of his time by day in giving advice to persons who consulted him on questions of faith or conduct; and after his hours of prayer the remainder of his time, including a great part of the night, was devoted to severe study and devout meditation. He even took upon himself the irksome task of instructing boys in the rudiments of grammar. But the work in which he most delighted and excelled was that of molding the minds and characters of young men. For this he was eminently qualified by sweetness of temper, affectionate sympathy, playful humor, deep piety, acute intellect, keen discernment of character, and practical wisdom in suggesting rules for moral conduct. An abbot who had difficulty in training the boys in his monastery complained to Anselm that they were incorrigible, and, though constantly beaten, only grew worse. "Beat them constantly, do you?" said Anselm. "And pray, what kind of creatures are they when they grow up?" "Dull and brutal," was the reply. "What can we do?" asked the abbot; "we restrain them in every possible way, but all to no purpose." "Restrain them, my lord abbot!" rejoined Anselm. "If you planted a young shoot in your garden and then confined it on all sides, so that it could not put forth its branches, would it not turn out a strange, misshapen thing when at last it was set free? Even so, these children have been planted in the garden of the Church to grow and bear fruit for God; but you cramp them so severely with your punishments and threats that they contract all manner of evil tempers and sullenly resent all correction." When Thomas Becket,

Archbishop of Canterbury, was murdered in his church by four knights, who called themselves "the King's men," the monks, after the murderers had fled, came out of hiding and took up the bleeding body to bury it in the crypt. They found that the archbishop wore next his skin a garment of coarse haircloth, swarming with vermin, and that his flesh was scarred with self-inflicted scourgings. At this they were filled with wonder and joy, exclaiming: "What a true monk was our great archbishop! What a true martyr, enduring torture not only in his death, but in his life! What a true monk he was, and we knew it not until now!" And amid their tears of sorrow for the loss of so great a bishop they "laughed for joy" at discovering so great a saint. A charming character was Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, whose sweetness and simplicity softened the most rugged natures and even won a singular affection from animals. The gentleness of animals to children and their ready attachment to persons who in innocence of life resemble little children illustrate the truth that discord and strife were brought into the world by sin, and that harmony can only be restored by pure goodness and love. When some visitors to St. Guthlac in the eighth century were astonished at seeing the swallows twittering around him and perching on his shoulders, the English hermit explained thus: "Know you not that he who is united to God by purity of heart finds all these sinless creatures of God united peaceably to himself? The birds of heaven, like the angels of God, know that they may safely trust those who have abjured the wickedness of the world." In the same spirit Benedict at Subiaco shared his frugal meals with the ravens, and Cuthbert and Francis of Assisi gathered birds and beasts around them as friendly companions. The future volumes of this history of the English Church will be awaited with much interest.

The Autobiography of a Journalist. By WILLIAM JAMES STILLMAN. Two volumes. 8vo, pp. 743. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, \$6.

Mr. Houghton, of the publishing house, suggested the writing of this book. Amid the multifarious occupations of a random life Stillman's most serious service was rendered as a journalist—all the rest, he thinks, was fringe or failure. Giving his strength for twenty years to the London *Times*, he testifies to the noble character and larger sincerity of that great journal. When the idealized portrait of the author, prefixed to these volumes, was drawn by Rowse in 1856, Russell Lowell said, "You have nothing to do for the rest of your life but to try to look like it." The Puritan conscience runs through Stillman's life, and the note of perfect honesty sounds in all his narrative of changing views and a restless, roving career. His father was called "honest old Joe Stillman," and his godly mother held self-righteousness to be the one thing utterly profane. Brought up a rigid Baptist, he reacted at one period into extreme liberalism, or even atheism; but this passed and his essential reli-

gious convictions became stronger than ever. Never at any time did the clear conviction of immortality as the explanation and justification of human existence fail him. He records that he has seen many men who lived for years in absolute rejection of religion return in their old age to the simple faith of childhood, ending as they began. Stillman's own digression into rationalism ended by leaving him firm in a simple faith. Out of the wilderness of doubt he came with vivid religious convictions, saying, "Providence rules and God answers prayer." Stillman had a genius and consuming passion for art, and feels that life denied him the one career to which he had the strongest call. His study of art in England brought him into acquaintance with Ruskin and Turner. He tells us that Turner refused to sell to James Lenox, of New York, for any amount of money his painting of the old fighting *Temeraire* being towed to her last berth to be broken up. Meeting Ruskin, he expected to find something of the fire, enthusiasm, and dogmatism of *Modern Painters*, but found only a man of the gentlest type, blonde, refined, and with little self-assertion, suggesting views rather than asserting them, as if he had not yet come to a conclusion on the subject of conversation. One day, when Stillman was drinking from a glass, Ruskin said he believed it had been ordained from all eternity whether that glass should be put down empty or only partly empty. During our civil war Ruskin's sympathy was ardently with the South. Stillman thinks that however correct Ruskin's views of the ethics of art, he was entirely in error from the standpoint of pure art. The great Turner was a little, insignificant-looking old man with a nose like an eagle's beak, though with an eagle's eye, bright, restless, keen. When Stillman spoke to him of one of his pictures which was owned in America he exclaimed impulsively, "I wish they were all put in a blunderbuss and shot off." In the early fifties young Stillman fell under the spell of Kossuth, and lent himself to the revolt against Austria on Hungary's behalf. He went on a reckless adventure to Hungary to carry off the crown jewels for Kossuth, nearly losing his life in the futile attempt. He says the personal fascination of Kossuth was beyond anything he ever knew, but that he was the most incompetent of conspirators, and his failure inevitable. At one time in his restless and intense life Stillman made a practical and persistent investigation of spiritualism, out of which he came with two conclusions: first, that there are about us spiritual individualities; second, that the human being possesses spiritual senses, parallel with the physical, by which it sees and hears what the physical sense cannot see or hear, these spiritual senses appertaining to a spiritual body which survives the death of the physical. Stillman served as fine-art editor for the *Evening Post*, which, under William Cullen Bryant, was the noblest type of political dailies. Bryant was slow to forgive Lowell for writing of him in the "Table for Critics:"

If he stir you at all, it is just, on my soul,
Like being stirred up with a very North Pole.

Bryant was a just man whose habit was to repress all expression of his own feeling, and so he was counted cold. Longfellow was a man of extreme unselfishness and delicate consideration for others, yet he did not possess that social magnetism which made Lowell the loadstone of so many hearts. Emerson and Longfellow were of antagonistic intellectuality and were incapable of close mutual sympathy. Stillman says that O. W. Holmes loved his friends serenely, but enjoyed himself more than he enjoyed anybody else; enjoyed his personal appearance and his position and attainments, being even more conspicuously satisfied with himself, his fate, and fortune than Mr. Gladstone or Professor E. A. Freeman. Lowell was the Yankee antithesis of Holmes, having a large, generous, chivalric, widely sympathizing nature, from which radiated love for humanity and the broadest and most catholic helpfulness. As to evolution, Professor Richard Owen saw in it the plan of a Divine Intelligence; Agassiz maintained the presence of Conscious Mind in all creation, saying, "All correspondence between the different aspects of animal life are the manifestations of mind acting consciously with intention toward one object from beginning to end; a mental power with which our own is akin manifests itself in nature; this world of ours is the work of an intelligent, conscious Power." The great American botanist, Asa Gray, a distinguished Darwinian, accepted evolution as the *modus operandi* of the Supreme Intelligence. Stillman says the father of Robert Browning was a saint, a serene, untroubled soul, a man in whom no moral problem could arise to cloud his frank acceptance of life as it came to him. Inheriting an estate in Jamaica, he calmly refused it when he found he could not work it profitably without becoming a slave owner. One of the author's opinions is that but for Lincoln's faith in the Supreme Providence, and in the destiny of the republic, and the courage this faith gave him, the war would have destroyed the Union. The corruption of our politics to-day makes him feel that the blood of that war was largely wasted, and he thinks that unparalleled disasters must come before our country reaches the goal its founders believed to be its destiny. Gladstone thought the condition of our civil service ominous of evil to the future of America. In the early sixties Stillman was American consul at Rome. Protestant worship inside the city walls was forbidden by law. But in defiance of this law the consul hired in the name of the legation a large room near the Piazza di Spagna, put up the arms of the United States, and opened it for religious services, conducted by an ex-chaplain of the House of Representatives—the first recorded Protestant worship in the papal city. In Rome he saw much of Charlotte Cushman, whom he characterizes as utterly selfish, avaricious, and malicious—"that most dangerous member of society, a strong-willed and large-brained woman without a vestige of principle." Having seen much of many nations, Stillman puts the Montenegrin at the head of European races in military courage and

docility; he is born brave, and the customary wish for the boy baby in his cradle is, "May you not die in your bed;" to face death is to Montenegrin boy or man the most joyous of games. An incident illustrating what often happens in Mohammedan countries is the following: In the city of Mostar a young Mussulman, having received a present of a new rifle, went out into the suburbs, and seeing a Christian boy, took a pot shot and killed him. For this the young assassin was carried in triumph about the town on the shoulders of his playmates, and was never in any way punished for it. Stillman confesses a strong liking for the Russians, and says: "I have hardly known a Russian whom I did not take to, in spite of a looseness in matters of veracity, which is so unlike the Anglo-Saxon. The evolution of the Russian character will in time make that race dominant in Europe. When the vices inherent in a people governed despotically are outgrown they will develop a magnificent civilization which may distance the West of to-day. But under the present crude and maleficent despotic form of government they are likely to menace the welfare of the world for a long time. The expected struggle between German and Slav is inevitable, and the sure defeat of the German will insure Russian domination in Europe." For Italy the author is not hopeful. The present pope, he says, is an amiable ecclesiastic, who practically says to the Italian people, "Be and do as you please, only obey us in all that we command"—obedience in rites and ceremonies being considered of far greater importance for priests and people than sexual morality, veracity, or common honesty. "For that evil influence which has its seat in the Vatican," writes Stillman, "and whose end and aim are absolutely antagonistic to all pure religion, I have no respect, but only the feeling due to unmitigated evil. It is a deadly political malady, malefic in proportion to its influence on the people, and until Italy is freed from it no progress or morality or healthy political life is possible." He fears that the struggle between the Vatican and a free and united Italy may end in the ruin of both contestants, since he doubts if the Italians have the patriotism or the courage to adopt the only saving measure—the formal and complete suppression of all civic privileges for the pope and his bishops, the relegation of religion to a place outside the organization of government. This *Autobiography of a Journalist* is interesting to a high degree.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The First Interpreters of Jesus. By GEORGE HOLLEY GILBERT, Ph.D., D.D., Author of *The Student's Life of Jesus*, *The Student's Life of Paul*, and *The Revelation of Jesus*. 12mo, pp. 429. New York: The Macmillan Company. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

This book was the immediate occasion, if not the entire cause, of Professor Gilbert's removal from his professorship of New Testament literature and interpretation in Chicago Theological Seminary. It denies the preexistence of Christ as usually held, and holds that his union with

God was rather a moral agreement than an identity of nature or a oneness of substance. The author is a disciple of Ritschl; his is the first Ritschlian head to fall into the basket in this country; essentially it is Ritschlianism which is thus put under ban. Professor Gilbert gets his doctrine from Germany, as did the Andover *post-mortem* probationists; Ritschl is his teacher, as Dorner was theirs. Methodism needs no second-probationism, since it has no hard doctrines requiring to be pieced out and relieved by such unscriptural inventions. Neither does Methodism need to call the ministry of Ritschlianism for any ills, displacements, or discomforts of which it is conscious; it has no need to wear a truss or a brace. The great effort of the nineteenth century was to ethicize theology. This effort the Ritschlians have shared with the Unitarians, though the two columns go about it in very different ways. To an extent both have rendered good service, for some theologies have badly needed ethicizing, since they shocked the moral sense. Ours is not one of those theologies; it needs neither plasters nor purgatives nor excisions. Ritschl is undeniably a great personality, and his school is at present perhaps the most influential in Germany. It is quite Teutonic in being very subtle and considerably misty. The Ritschlians complain that they are misunderstood. English and German visitors to Paris often make a similar complaint because they find that the French people do not understand their own language when it is spoken to them. Ritschlianism, which is essentially a revival of Kantianism, was in this country anticipated in certain particulars by some of Bushnell's advanced ideas. A recent comment on Ritschl says that his negation of metaphysics and his positive vindication of the value-judgment both rest on the Kantian theory of the confinement of knowledge to the *phenomenal* as distinguished from the *noumenal* world; and that a sign of this is his well-known comparison of the compass of Christian theology to an ellipse (as distinguished from a circle) with the doctrine of Reconciliation and the doctrine of the Kingdom as its two foci. In Ritschl's system the kingdom is mainly an *ethical* and only secondarily an *eschatological* magnitude; whereas in the teaching of Jesus the eschatological element seems to predominate.

Atonement. A Brief Study. By Bishop S. M. MERRILL. 16mo, pp. 160. Cincinnati: Jennings & Pye. New York: Eaton & Mains. Price, 25 cents.

Sanctification. Right Views and Other Views. Same author, publishers, style, and price.

Agassiz once said to a friend: "O I wish I had time to write a little book! All my books come large, and I have not the time to condense them." Bishop Merrill has condensed large subjects into these two great little books of doctrine, strong, lucid, coherent, conclusive. Their compactness, sanity, simplicity, and easy comprehensibleness fit them for the purpose which inspired their writing, namely, to correct erroneous current views and teachings, and to elucidate what is reasonable, scriptural, and now for a long time assuredly believed among us.

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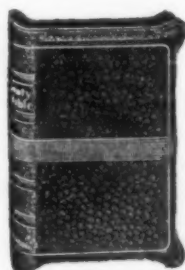
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